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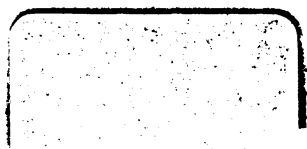
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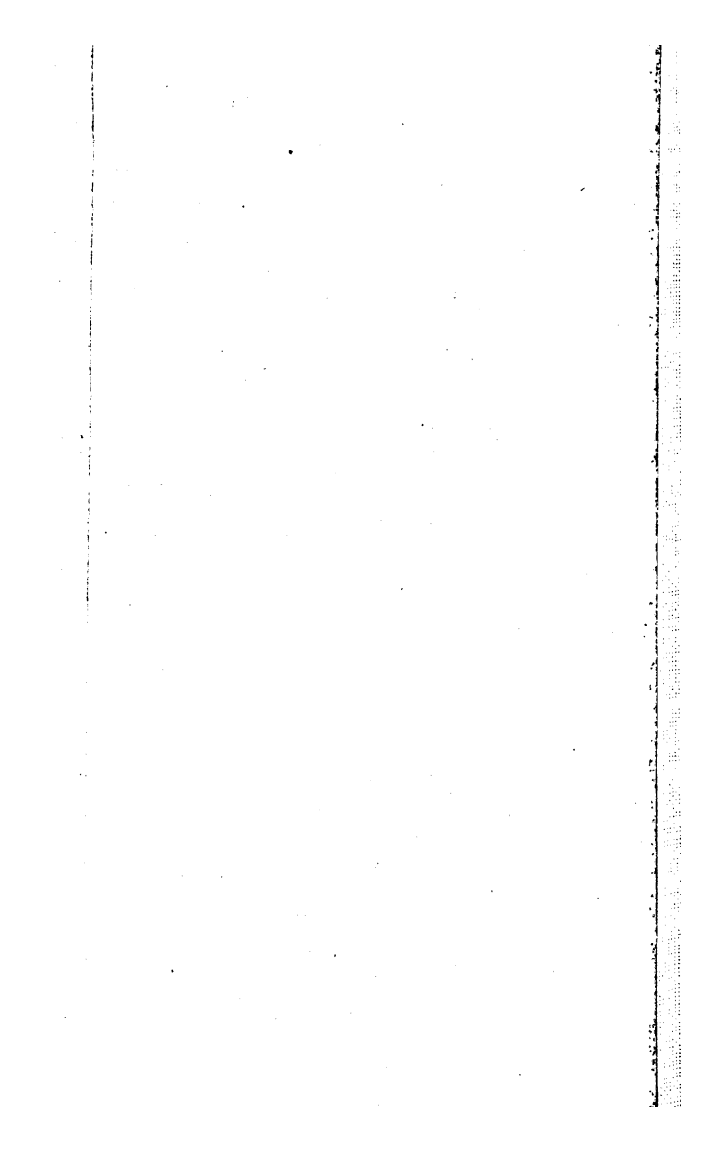
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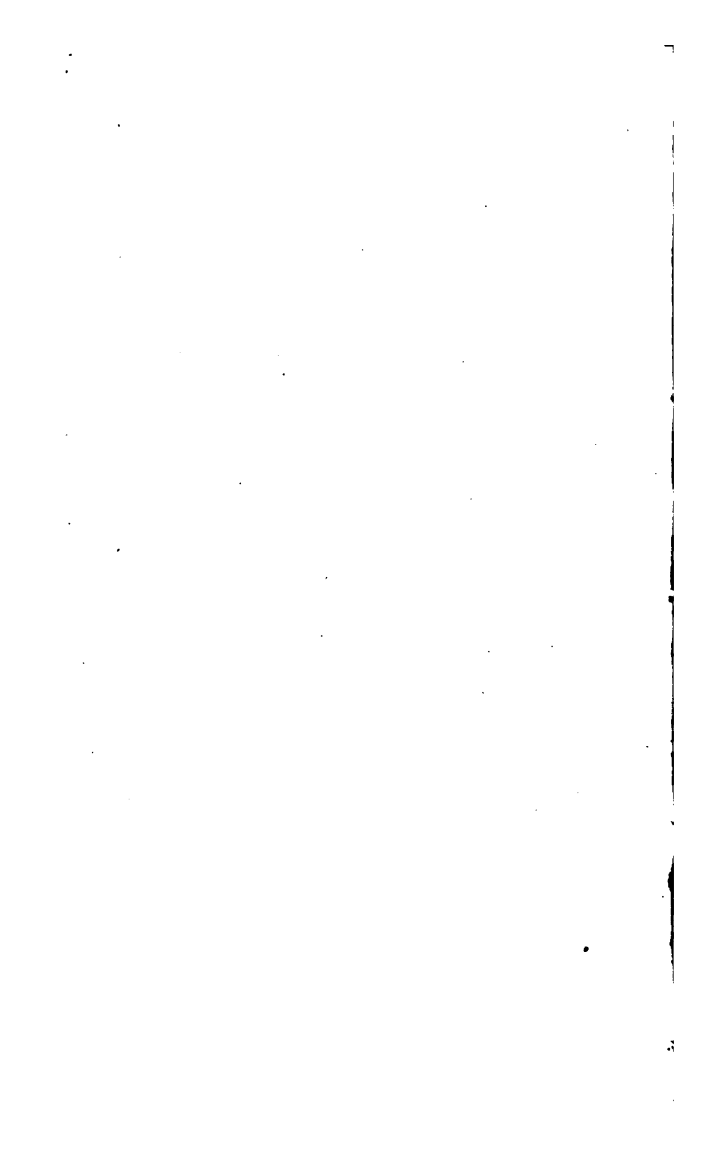
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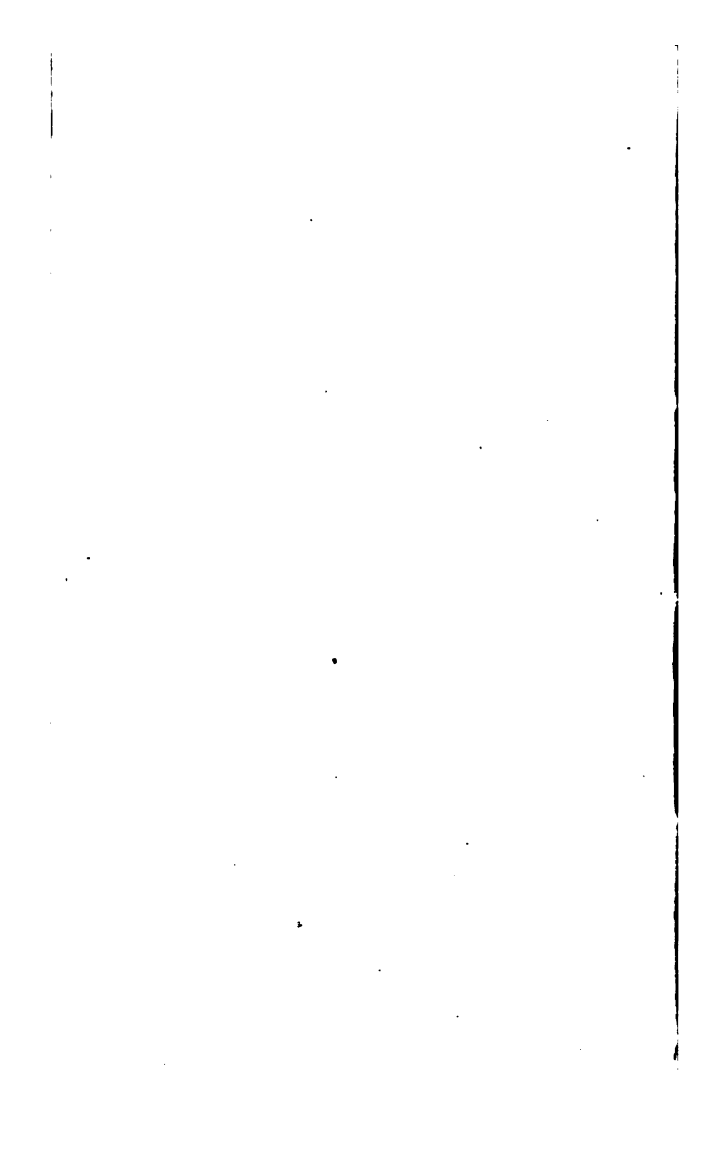
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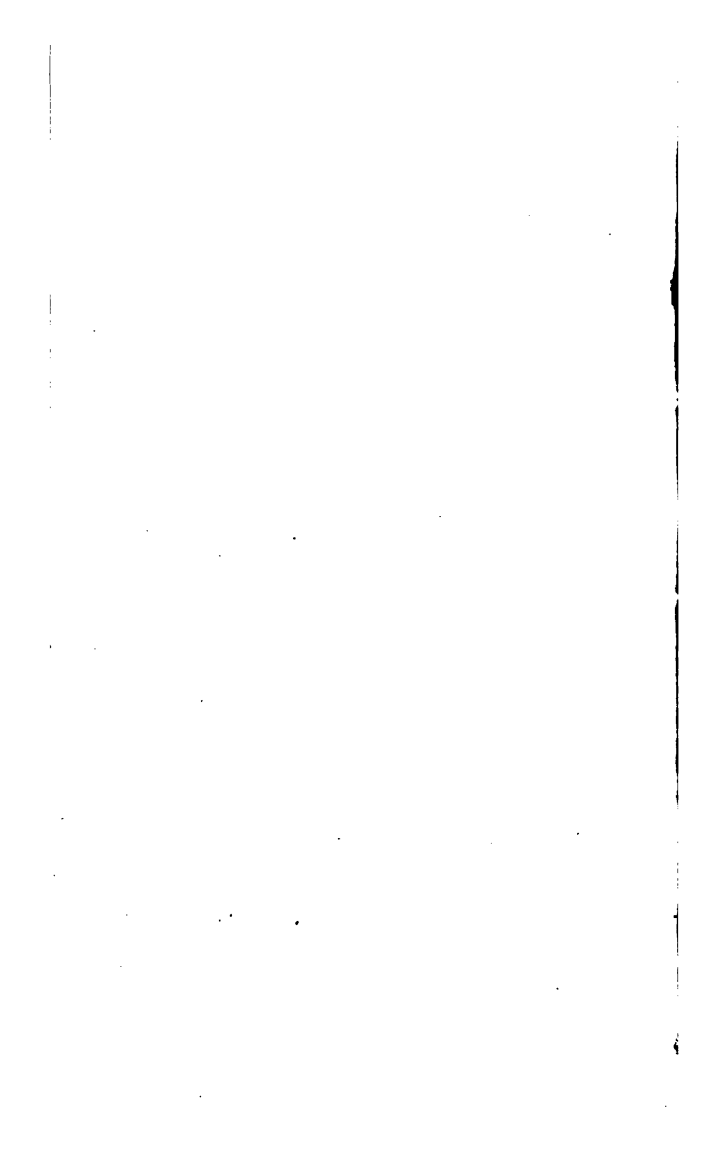
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William Simon

THE

CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY
HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF
ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

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CABINET HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IX.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1746—1760.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

GEORGE II.—*Continued.*

A FEW circumstances remain to be noticed in connexion with this unhappy civil war. Sir John Cope, after being most virulently abused, caricatured, and put into ballads, was brought to trial by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted. Hawley, who deserved a court-martial far more than Cope, escaped the ordeal through the friendship and protection of the Duke of Cumberland, who continued to treat him as an ornament to the service. Flora MacDonald was released after twelve months' confinement, and went back to the Highlands with some 1500*l.* in her pocket, which had been collected for her chiefly among Jacobite ladies in London.*

* Chambers's Hist.—Walter Scott's Tales of a Grandfather.—Flora MacDonald afterwards married the son of Kingsburgh. At the time when she smuggled the young Pretender in her train she was about twenty-four years old. Dr. Johnson saw her in the year 1773, when Boswell contrived to get the great moralist to the Highlands and to the Isle of Skye. Flora, or, as she spelled the name, Flory, was then past her seventh climacteric; but Johnson describes her as "not old, of a pleasing person, and elegant behaviour;" and his companion Boswell sets her down as "a little woman of

After many delays, and, alas! too many executions, ministers prepared an act of indemnity, granting pardon to all who had been engaged in the rebellion except some *eighty* individuals named—a wide and ungenerous exception. This act was passed without opposition through parliament, which subsequently confirmed with equal facility—a bill not only for disarming the clans, but for restraining the use of their national garb;—a bill making it imperative on the master and teacher of every private school in Scotland to swear allegiance to King George, his heirs, and successors, and to register their oaths;—a bill to check the episcopalian divines, who in Scotland were all Jacobites, and to restrain non-jurors in general;—a bill to abolish for ever the system of heritable jurisdictions, by which many Scottish lord and lairds had been allowed, on their own estates, to administer law in their own way. At the same time some encouragement was given to the Highlanders to emigrate to our American colonies, or to enlist in the army; and, by virtue of all these and other measures, and the slow but sure effects of time, and custom, the strong remnant of the feudal system in Scotland was rent into pieces, and clanships and distinctive Highland customs were destroyed, with all their evil and with all their good.

Badly as it had ended for the Stuarts and those engaged with them, the Scotch war of 1745 had been a most advantageous diversion for the French, who, while the English were intent upon putting it down, had been marching from conquest to conquest, and at the time when the battle of Culloden was fought were threaten-

a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well bred." Johnson says, in a letter to Mrs. Thrale, "She was carried to London, but dismissed without a trial, and came down with Malcolm MacLeod, against whom sufficient evidence could not be procured. She and her husband are poor, and are now going to try their fortune in America—*Sic rerum volvitur orbis.*" They did emigrate to America, but returned to Scotland during the war of independence; and Flora died in the Isle of Skye on the 4th of March, 1790.—*Boswell's Life of Johnson, with Mr. Croker's notes.*

ing Holland with annihilation. When the Duke of Cumberland came so hastily up to London from the North, it was with the hope of obtaining the supreme command of the allied armies in Flanders, and of measuring his sword with Marshal Saxe, who was commanding the armies of Louis XV.; but the duke found that that post had been given to Prince Charles of Lorraine, the Queen of Hungary's brother-in-law, without any notification, to George. Cumberland had, therefore, stayed at home to recommend severity against the Scots; and our military achievements abroad were this year confined to a paltry expedition to the coast of Brittany under the command of General St. Clair, Admiral Lestock, and a prostitute, old Lestock's mistress, who went with him in his ship, and who ruled and advised even in matters of war. The strange trio did not take Port L'Orient, but they plundered and burnt a few fishing villages, and returned home without much loss. Some troops, however, were sent back to Holland, and great conquests were spoken of, to be made at some future day over the French in Canada; and Sir John Ligonier and the English cavalry, though they could not prevent the defeat of the allies at the battle of Roucoux, on the Yaar, saved Prince Charles of Lorraine's army from destruction. Our foreign negotiations were as complicated and as unsatisfactory as our campaign was inglorious; but, fortunately, the French were greatly weakened by the death of Philip V. of Spain, which happened in the autumn of 1746, and by the great reverses they sustained in Italy, where the armies of Austria and Sardinia recovered Milan, Parma, and many other places, obtained a great victory over the French and Spaniards near Piacenza, and finally drove the forces of Louis XV. beyond the Alps.

The dissensions in the English cabinet continued on the increase. The discussion of them would occupy volumes, but the great present result was, that Pitt continued to rise—though by slow and uncertain steps—in power and influence; that Lord Harrington was succeeded as one of the secretaries of state by Lord Ches-

terfield, who had been for some time governing Ireland as lord-lieutenant, with rare ability and a most rare liberality; and that the Duke of Newcastle and his brother disagreed in many particulars.

A.D. 1747.—To quicken the Austrian sluggishness 100,000*l.* were added to the Queen of Hungary's subsidy. Lord Sandwich, as ambassador to the States-General, had smoothed some difficulties, and the Duke of Cumberland now repaired to Holland to take the chief command of the allied armies. Between Dutch, Flemish, Bavarians, Austrians, and English, nearly 100,000 men were collected, in the month of March, under our English prince, who, however, soon testified that he was not the general destined to vanquish Marshal Saxe. The latter, from his cantonments, intercepted the duke's provisions and supplies; and when he took the field it was to more certain victory, for Cumberland had put his army into some of the worst positions that could have been chosen; and the allies were thoroughly beaten at Lauffeld, near Maestricht, on the 2nd of July, when the gallant Ligonier, with the British cavalry, again checked the advance of the French, and preserved the allies from destruction. But, generally, the fighting of the British troops, both horse and foot, was as good as Cumberland's generalship was bad. Each reached the extreme. While the Dutch in the centre gave way and fled, and the Austrians on the right would not or could not come into action at all, the British on the left stood the brunt, and strewed the field with 10,000 Frenchmen before they retreated. Saxe himself afterwards confessed to Ligonier, that his victory had cost him in killed and wounded 8000 foot, 1000 horse, and a great many officers. After this battle the French continued to take fortresses with wondrous facility till they sat down before the walls of Bergen-op-Zoom. With the surrender of this famous fortress the campaign in the Low Countries ended, and the armies went into winter-quarters, the French triumphantly, the allies accusing one another. Nor was the war more favourable to the allies on the side of the Alps. Having driven the French out of Italy in the

autumn of the preceding year, the Austrians and Sardinians, assisted by the British fleet, made an invasion of the south of France, and laid siege to Antibes; but they were soon compelled to retreat, were followed by the French, were forced to give up Genoa, and were so irritated by their many failures that they, too, began to quarrel among themselves. A second French force, however, commanded by the brother of Marshal Belleisle, was stopped in the narrow defiles of Savoy as it was attempting to open its way to Susa and Turin, was defeated with great loss, and driven back without its brave commander, who was knocked on the head at the barricades of Exilles. But the English navy did something this summer. Admiral Anson fought a gallant battle off Cape Finisterre, took six ships of the line, several frigates, and the best part of a numerous French convoy; Admiral Hawke, off Belleisle, captured six ships of the line out of nine; Commodore Fox took forty French ships, richly laden from the West Indies; and other successes were obtained at sea in various parts of the world. The French trade was completely paralysed, and great want, suffering, and dissension were the consequences. Thus, in spite of the successes of Marshal Saxe in the Low Countries, the cabinet of Versailles began to sigh for peace; and the more when they ascertained that Ferdinand VI., the new King of Spain, was determined to conclude a treaty with England with or without France. Mr. Pelham was equally anxious to treat. The able diplomatic pen of Lord Chesterfield was employed by Pelham in drawing up conditions and the outlines of a treaty; communications were made to our allies, the States-General, the King of Sardinia, and the Empress-Queen, who were invited to concur; and an active intercourse was set on foot between Paris and London. It soon appeared, however, that our allies, who had been making war at the expense of English money and English blood, were not over-anxious for peace.* But, as it happened,

* Louis XV. had observed, after the last campaign in Flanders, that the British not only paid for all, but fought

that without the assistance and the subsidies of England, these potentates were powerless, they, too, were obliged to entertain the proposition and to agree to send ministers to a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle. The King of Prussia was kept quiet by the guarantee of Silesia, which was formally pledged to him by England and Holland.

The new parliament assembled on the 10th of November, soon after George's return from Hanover. The Prince of Wales, who was constantly smarting under the preference shown to his brother the Duke of Cumberland, and who was as inveterate against the Pelham administration as ever he had been against that of Sir Robert Walpole, had put the whole strength of his party into play at the late general election; but the returns, on the whole, were very favourable to the ministry. Each House was as compliant as possible; the Commons voted above thirteen millions of money almost without opposition; and in the whole course of the session there was not a single division in the House of Lords against any ministerial proposal whatsoever. Yet there was a clause in their lordships' address that was highly honourable to that House. In speaking of the best means of extinguishing the spirit of rebellion and anarchy in the North, Lord Chesterfield had recommended "schools and villages to civilise the Highlands;"* and the peers, in their address, declared that *the diffusion of knowledge among the people would be the best safeguard of their loyalty and tranquillity*. But it unfortunately was not deemed essential by either House, by cabinet or by country, to make any proper provision for national education.

A.D. 1748.—The king closed this complacent session on the 13th of May, by announcing the cessation of hostilities and the recent signature of preliminaries of peace. But the cabinet had scarcely been so tranquil as the parliament, and it was growing every day more apparent

for all—that the Austrians were benevolent spectators of battles.

* Diary of Hugh Earl of Marchmont, in Marchmont Papers.

that ministerial jealousy, selfishness, and intrigue were becoming more and more fierce and shameless as parliament became more moderate. The voice of faction ceased, the great struggles of parties on broad and opposite principles of government terminated, and were succeeded by private personal contests for power and place, almost without any of the old distinctions of Whig and Tory. The Duke of Newcastle, alarmed at Chesterfield's successes as a diplomatist, and still more at an intimacy which that accomplished and intriguing lord had formed with the king's mistress, the German Lady Yarmouth, resolved to get rid of him at all costs; and Newcastle retained influence enough with the king, who disliked Chesterfield, to make the court so uncomfortable a place for him, that his lordship resigned on the 6th of February. Then there was a fresh cabal to decide who should succeed Chesterfield as secretary of state. The Duke of Newcastle wanted to bring in his friend Lord Sandwich—a very convenient kind of political jobber, whose private morality and public honesty were pretty nearly on a par. At last the Duke of Bedford became joint-secretary of state with Newcastle, who in six days became as jealous of him as he had been of Chesterfield. By a sudden handy-dandy trick Newcastle changed his province and took the secretaryship, which was more immediately concerned with foreign affairs, leaving home concerns to Bedford. In the meanwhile Mr. Pitt continued to rise in consideration, and, as we suspect, began to discover, through the chasms caused by the frequent disagreements between Pelham and his brother the Duke of Newcastle, a rough and tortuous road to the ministerial pinnacle. He was consulted by both the brothers, and put in the always tempting position of an arbiter or mediator in their quarrels. Pitt persevered in the look-out for better things, and supported in the meanwhile every ministerial measure, however opposite it might be to the principles he had formerly proclaimed when in opposition and engaged in hunting down Sir Robert Walpole. All this, added to his hot and unguarded expressions in parliament, his towering pride,

and cold repelling manners, made him exceedingly unpopular both with parliament and people.

The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle had assembled early in the spring, and the conferences were opened on the 11th of March; but it was not until Marshal Saxe had invested several places, the Prince of Orange had failed in his warlike engagements, and thirty thousand Russians, subsidised by England, had proved that they could not come up in time to be of any service, that the notion of the renewal of the war was really given up, and that George consented to sign the preliminaries; and even after this he put the peace in jeopardy by insisting upon little advantages for his family, such as the reversion of the bishopric of Osnaburg, &c. But while the king went to Hanover his minister at Aix-la-Chapelle continued to attend the Congress, which came to a final settlement after numerous delays and difficulties in the month of October, upon the principle of the *status quo ante bellum*, with some exceptions. In other words, after a long and bloody war, every one was to keep what he had before the war began, and (save the exceptions) to get no more. The arrangement was most imperfect, and many clauses of the treaty were conceived in such loose terms as to allow double or treble interpretations, and to furnish grounds for new disputes and fresh wars so soon as either party should consider itself ready to take the field. The original causes of the war on our part seemed to be wholly forgotten; and yet Pitt, who had so materially helped to drive on the war against the inclination of Sir Robert Walpole, and who had graced a hundred harangues with the declaration that peace ought never to be made with Spain until that power renounced the right of search, continued to act with and to be part of a ministry that hurried on the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and, after that, began and concluded a separate Spanish treaty, without once mentioning this odious right, which, therefore, as far as diplomacy was concerned, was left on its old footing. Nor did the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle contain any satisfaction of the commercial claims England had upon Spain, nor did it in

any degree throw open the Spanish Main to our trade and shipping: it did nothing commercially, but revive for four years the *assiento*, or odious privilege of supplying Spanish America with African slaves.*

By an article in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis XV. bound himself to give up the cause of the Pretender and exclude the Stuarts from France. On the return of the young Pretender from Scotland Louis had behaved to him with considerable liberality, supplying him with money for his own necessities, and giving commissions in the French army, or pensions to the bravest of his Scotch followers—as Lochiel, Lord Ogilvie, and others; but at the same time Louis absolutely refused to supply him with men, money, and materials of war for another invasion of Scotland. Thereupon Charles turned his eyes in other directions; and early in 1747, unknown to, and against the inclinations of, the French court, he stole across the Pyrenees and went to Madrid to solicit aid from the impoverished Spaniards and their timid and pacific new king, Ferdinand VI. He saw that king and his prime minister, Calatrava, and one who was more than the minister, the Neapolitan *musico*, the far-famed Farinelli, who was equally the favourite of king and queen; but they could do nothing for him, and they very soon told him that his presence in Spain was unpleasant and embarrassing. The luckless adventurer returned to Paris. To his great annoyance the old Pretender had made a priest of his brother. A few months

* “This,” says Horace Walpole, with more truth than always accompanies his diatribes, “was the conclusion of the Spanish war! fomented to overturn Sir Robert Walpole, by Lord Granville, who had neglected it for a French war; by Lord Sandwich, who made a peace that stipulated for no one of the conditions for which it was undertaken; by Pitt, who ridiculed and condemned his own orations for it, and who declared for a peace on any terms; and by the Duke of Newcastle, who betrayed all the claims of the merchants and the South Sea Company.”—*Memoirs of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George II.*

after his brother had taken holy orders, and become a prince of the Roman Church,* a member of the conclave, with a chance of becoming pope himself, Charles endeavoured to marry a Protestant princess, and to strike up an alliance with Frederick of Prussia, who entertained an equal contempt for all religions or modes of faith. He sent Sir John Graham to Berlin with his instructions to propose, "in a modest manner," a marriage with one of the princesses—Frederick's sisters or nieces—for that great captain had no children, and was not likely to have any; to declare that he never intended to marry any other than a Protestant; and, if his Majesty should decline his alliance, "to ask advice whom to take, as he was known to be the wisest prince in Europe." But this unpromising mission came to nothing, though Frederick, when it suited his purpose, continued to profess a friendship for Charles, who, seven months after this proposal, was driven out of France. There were many circumstances in his conduct likely to irritate Louis XV.; and the English government at the same time urged his most Christian majesty to observe the recent treaty. He, however, would have treated the chevalier mildly and generously; but Charles would not listen to his proposals, and refused to leave Paris when entreated so to do. The French court begged the old Pretender to make use of his authority, but Charles set at nought his father's letter and still refused to go: nothing, therefore, was left but force. On the evening of the 11th of December, as he was going to the opera, his coach was stopped by a company of the French Guards, who seized him, bound him hand and foot—for he had arms about his person, and threatened to use them,—and carried him with a single attendant to the castle at Vincennes. But he did not lie there long, for in a few days he was conveyed to the frontier of Savoy, and there left to go whither he might choose. For some time he disappeared altogether from the eyes

* He was styled Cardinal York, or Cardinal Duke of York.

of the world, and, bearing many names and many disguises, he continued a dissipated wanderer till the year 1766, when his father died, and he returned to Rome to seek a reconciliation with his brother, the cardinal. During this strange vagabond-life he came, at least once, into England. It is certain that he visited London in the year 1754, and it has been affirmed that he was here again in 1760, and was actually present at the coronation of George III.

A.D. 1749.—The public rejoicing for the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was soon succeeded by loud complaints that ministers had sacrificed the interest and honour of England; but the overbearing eloquence of Pitt kept the House of Commons in order, and the feeble voice of opposition in parliament was almost hushed. This fiery patriot of former days seems to have stuck at nothing that was recommended by the court. When the Pelhams and Sandwiches, as if ashamed of their own work, preserved a silence about the recent treaty, Pitt stood forward and defended it as one of the best treaties that had ever been made; and when the king, the Duke of Cumberland, and ministers wanted to extend the operation and increase the severity of the Mutiny Bill, Pitt was there to advocate the measure and to carry it by a large majority. Of the two brothers that divided the chief authority of government between them, Mr. Pelham, first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, was incomparably the superior in point of ability, being in fact thoroughly a man of business and one of the best financiers and managers of an office; and yet Pitt, the arbiter of their quarrels, generally sided not with Pelham but with Newcastle. It has, indeed, been suspected that he had now an eye to Pelham's place of chancellor of the exchequer, and thought that the Duke of Newcastle would be glad to have him in that office instead of his brother, and to make him his leader in the House of Commons. In this very session, while Pelham was carrying a rigorous reduction of the army and navy, and trying to relieve the country by reducing the interest of the national debt, he more than once found himself op-

posed by Pitt. The army, however, was reduced to 19,000 men and the navy to 8000.

A.D. 1750.—During the session several bills were passed for the encouragement of our trade, and for the establishment of fisheries which might compete with those of the Dutch. The session was closed on the 12th of April. George then prepared to go as usual to Hanover, and the government was vested as usual in a regency of Lords Justices. The king's back was scarcely turned when fresh dissensions broke out in the cabinet, for the Duke of Newcastle was anxious to liberate himself from his intractable colleague the Duke of Bedford, who, by means of Lord and Lady Sandwich, had secured the favour and protection of the Duke of Cumberland and his sister the Princess Amelia, who had taken offence at Newcastle's paying too much court to Lady Yarmouth.

In the course of the summer a strong British colony was settled in Nova Scotia, and the troops withdrawn from Cape Breton were sent to its support. The town of Halifax, fortified with a palisade, began to rise in the waste, and, as reduced officers and soldiers continued to flock to that part of America, Nova Scotia soon became a very important colony, to the great mortification of France, which pretended that such an establishment was an infraction of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Nearly at the same time some bodies of English and Scotch began to settle on the Mosquito coast, in the gulph of Mexico, and this caused equal or greater irritation to the court of Spain. A French ambassador at Madrid worked upon this discontent with the view of inducing Ferdinand VI. to join in a new war against England; but the Spanish king was exceedingly pacific; his consort Barbara, a Portuguese princess, was strongly attached to the English; and our envoy, Mr. Keene, one of the best negotiators of the day, and one that knew Spain and the Spanish character thoroughly, succeeded in concluding a commercial treaty with the court of Madrid. By this treaty, which was signed on the 5th of October, 1750, the British were restored to various privileges and put on the footing of the most favoured nations; we renounced

the remaining term of the Assiento Treaty, and obtained 100,000*l.* to compensate the claims of our South Sea Company; but not a word was said about the right of search! At the same time Maria Theresa, dissatisfied with the terms she had procured, and unmindful of her former and vast obligations to England, was making overtures both to France and Spain, and taking every opportunity of showing her animosity to the court of St. James's. George was naturally solicitous and anxious about Hanover; but, where so many other fruitful causes of quarrel existed—in America, in both Indies, on the African coast, in the Mediterranean, about Gibraltar and Minorca,—it was a vulgar falsehood, though at times a popular one, to say that the king's affection for his hereditary dominions was the sole cause that was leading us fast to another waste of blood and money. The French at this very moment were advancing claims to a part of Nova Scotia, and were refusing to give up the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which they were bound by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to evacuate.

The king returned and found Mr. Pelham greatly embarrassed as to the direction of the House of Commons, and anxious to reconcile his friend Bedford and his brother Newcastle. Pitt continued to court the favour of Newcastle, but Lord Cobham and Pitt's nearest friends and relations were labouring to aggravate the dissensions in the cabinet, and were secretly caballing with the Prince of Wales, who, for some time past, had been in close connexion with Bolingbroke and the factious men that frequented his lordship's house at Battersea. The prince's chief manager was Bubb Dodington, who, upon a careful calculation of interests and chances, had thought it advisable to relinquish the treasurership of the navy and resume a place in the prince's household. Most of the speeches in opposition to government were concocted either at Leicester House, the residence of the Prince of Wales, or at Lord Bolingbroke's, at Battersea. Fox, who never travelled in the same path with Pitt, continued to attach himself to the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Pelham. Bedford, it appears, would now have resigned his

secretaryship and taken the mastership of the horse; but upon the unpalatable condition that he should be allowed to name Lord Sandwich for his successor. The only important change which immediately followed his majesty's arrival from Hanover, was the sudden and uncourteous removal of Lord Harrington, who was succeeded in the lieutenancy of Ireland by the Duke of Dorset, then president of the council.

A. D. 1751.—Parliament met on the 17th of January, when the king announced that he had concluded a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria for the better security of peace on the Continent. The effect of recent deliberations at Battersea and Leicester House was made evident at once. Lord Egmont, one of the Prince of Wales's men and a fluent speaker, opposed the address on the ground that it approved of useless treaties and ruinous subsidies (for, as a matter of course, Bavaria was to be subsidised); and he was followed by Bubb Dodington, Dr. Lee, and others of that party; but the address was carried by a majority of 203 to 74. There followed a terrible storm and long war about the privileges of the House of Commons, parliamentary returns, and "the maiden and uncorrupted city of Westminster." Crowle, a lawyer, upon being brought to his knees at the bar, for breach of privilege, said, that the House of Commons was the dirtiest house he had ever been in. Mr. Alexander Murray, a Scotch Tory, brother to Lord Elibank, and one of the principal performers in these scenes, was committed and re-committed to Newgate.

While this privilege war was at its hottest, and many months before it terminated, the Prince of Wales was removed by death from factious struggles and the expectation of that crown which had so long seemed to be within his grasp, and of which he had made so sure, through the illness of his father, fourteen years ago.*

* At the time of his death the prince was forty-four years old—the king, his father, sixty-six. Not one of the political jobbers seems to have calculated that the hale temperate father might possibly outlive the frail intemperate son!

On the 17th of March it was reported in the House of Commons that the prince was dangerously ill. On the 18th he was thought better, but on the 20th he was worse and had a severe fit of coughing. One of the physicians told him the cough would do him good; but Hawkins, the surgeon, said in coming out of the room—"Here is something I do not like." This was about ten o'clock at night; the cough continued; and soon after the prince laid his hand upon his chest and said, "*Je sens la mort.*" His favourite German valet-de-chambre felt him shiver, and cried out, "Good God, the prince is going!" The Princess of Wales, who was in the room, snatched up a candle and rushed to the bed-head; but before she got there he was gone. An imposthume in the breast had burst and had caused this almost instantaneous death. His constitution had never been a good one, and his habits of life had not tended to improve it. The little that has been related of the conduct of Frederick is not calculated to conciliate esteem for his memory; but, as usual with princes, his character was neither so bad as it was painted by his enemies, nor so good as it was represented by his friends. He appears to have been weak rather than vicious, and more pettish and passionate than headstrong and malignant. His early education, at Hanover, had been exceedingly bad; and from the first moment of his arriving in England he had been purposely initiated into irregularities and excesses, and made the tool of a faction. Though never popular—not even when heading the strong opposition to government in Sir Robert Walpole's days—the people were generally disposed to prefer him to the Duke of Cumberland; and just after his death ballads were sung about the streets wishing that it were but his brother; and some on Change were heard to say, "Oh that it were but the Butcher!" Since the reconciliation effected between father and son in the year 1742, though they had often met, the king had scarcely ever spoken a dozen words at once to the prince; and the recent attempt of his royal highness to set up the banner of opposition had not tended to awaken any affection for the first-born—a feeling which George

never knew, and the want of which and his partiality to his second son ought to be taken into account among the circumstances which had tended to make Frederick what he was. The old king, however, was shocked at the sudden death, which was announced to him by Lord North, who found him looking over a table where Princess Emily, the Duchess of Dorset, and the Duke of Grafton were playing at cards. The widowed princess had eight young children, and was far gone with the ninth. The total amount of Frederick's debts is differently stated, but it appears to have been very large; and there is no doubt as to the fact that the debts were never paid, either by his father George II., or by his son George III. It is probable that the majority of the creditors did not deserve to be paid.

Bubb Dodington, and the men of intrigue acting with him, instantly called a meeting to know what was to be done "under this fatal change of situation." Dodington spoke of the military interest—of the sad certainty of having the Duke of Cumberland forced upon them as regent in case the old king should die—and recommended bold measures. But the Princess of Wales, after speaking in private with Lord Egmont* and Dr. Lee, burned all the prince's papers, and made up her mind to trust wholly and solely to the king, without any reliance on those factions and cabals which had brought nothing but debt and mischief to her husband. The Leicester House faction was thus utterly disconcerted, and compelled to look out for some new game. As soon as Frederick was interred

* Horace Walpole says that Egmont called a meeting of the faction at his own house at a very early hour in the morning after the prince's death. "All was whisper! At last Egmont hinted something of taking the princess and her family under their protection, and something of the necessity of harmony. No answer was made to the former proposition; somebody said, it was very likely indeed they should agree now, when the prince could never bring it about; and so everybody went away to take care of himself."—*Letter to Horace Mann.*

in Westminster Abbey* some of these honourable gentlemen offered their services to the Pelhams, for their dread of the Duke of Cumberland was a lasting and reasonable passion, and they suspected that, if the Duke of Bedford and the other members of the government opposed to the Pelhams were permitted to gain the ascendancy, Cumberland would be put at the head of the regency. In the course of a few days Prince George (afterwards George III.), Frederick's eldest son, was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, and had a household settled for him. Lord North was dismissed, and Lord Harescourt, a very inferior man, was appointed governor to the prince, as being more devoted to Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle; for these personal objects were kept closely in view in selecting the persons who were to be intrusted with the education of the future sovereign—an education which had been hitherto so much neglected, that Prince George, at eleven years old, could hardly read English. Stone, a man of ability, who had long been private secretary to the Duke of Newcastle, was appointed sub-governor.† Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, and reputed to be a natural son of Blackburn, a somewhat free-living archbishop of York, was named preceptor. The Bishop of Norwich was good-humoured, sensible, and attached to the constitution as established by the Revolution of 1688, and believed to be devoted to the Duke of Newcastle; but he had for his assistant, or sub-preceptor, one Scott, a high Tory and decided Jacobite, who had been strongly recommended to the prince and princess by that great mischief-maker Lord Bolingbroke. It was strange to leave the young prince chiefly in the hands of this Scott (who was ready to teach the

* Dodington complains bitterly of the whole ceremonial of the funeral, and of the sad fact that the lords of the bed-chamber and all the prince's gentlemen were obliged to pay for their own dinner. Bathos can scarcely go lower.

† Andrew Stone, styled, by Horace Walpole, "a dark, proud man, very able and very mercenary," was the son of a banker: his brother was primate of Ireland.

boy arbitrary principles of government), and of his well-meaning but ill-informed mother. The "princess-dowager of Wales," says Lord Waldegrave, "was reputed a woman of excellent sense by those who knew her very imperfectly; but, in fact, was one of those moderate geniuses who, with much natural dissimulation, a civil address, an assenting conversation, and a few ideas of their own, can act with tolerable propriety so long as they are conducted by wise and prudent counsellors. Her secretary, Cresset, had been hitherto her principal adviser—a cautious man, uncommonly skilful in the politics of the back stairs, trusted by Lady Yarmouth," &c.* A plan of regency was drawn up by the Pelhams, who seemed determined to exclude the dreaded Duke of Cumberland; and on the 7th of May the Duke of Newcastle brought the bill into the House of Lords. This bill proposed, simply, that the princess-dowager of Wales should be guardian of the heir-apparent and regent of Great Britain, in the event of the reigning sovereign's dying before his successor had attained the age of eighteen. The second reading was appointed for the 8th (the very next day); but, previously to that reading, Newcastle appeared with a message from his majesty, recommending the settlement of a council of regency to co-operate with the princess-regent, and to be headed by Cumberland. The cabinet had disagreed among themselves, and had not been unanimous on any one clause of the bill; the hatred and fear of the duke seem to have been balanced by the consideration that all the great officers of the crown were appointed to have seats in this council of regency; and though there was some declamation—little,

* Memoirs of James Earl Waldegrave (one of the best of authorities), a book in which every syllable seems as if it had been written upon oath, or upon the honour of a truly honourable and upright man. The Princess of Wales's secretary, Cresset, was related to the royal family by a Duchess of Zell, who was daughter of a private French gentleman, and mother to Sophia Dorothea, the unhappy wife of George I.

but loud—against the danger of placing an ambitious uncle, with the army at his command, in such a tempting situation, and against the complications and delays which must arise from a division of authority, the suggestions of the king were adopted, and the Regency Bill was passed in that form in the House of Lords by a majority of 106 to 12, and in the Commons by about 270 to 90.* There were several objectionable clauses and provisions in the bill; but, as George II. did not die till his successor had attained the age of royal majority, and as it was consequently never acted upon, they may be passed over in silence.

In other directions death was busy with the royal family this year. The Prince of Orange, who had so recently got the stadtholdership made hereditary in his family, and who was married to George's eldest daughter, died of a fever, after five days' illness, in the month of October; and his death was the more felt by his father-in-law, as it was likely to embarrass some of his foreign negotiations. The Queen of Denmark, his majesty's youngest daughter (who resembled her mother, Queen Caroline, in many circumstances of life and fortune, and in the malady which caused her death), expired in the month of December; and in addition to these losses George was well nigh losing his grandson, Prince Edward, and his son Cumberland.

Another death to be noticed was that of the Proteus Bolingbroke, who died at Battersea, of a cancer in the heart, on the 15th of December, having employed some of his last hours in blackening the memory of his late friend Pope. Between the demise of the Prince of Wales and the departure of Bolingbroke the voice of faction was almost hushed, and opposition in parliament all but extinguished. The only battle that was fought was fought in the cabinet; and there the victory remained with the Pelhams, for early in June the king dismissed Lord Sandwich, and the Duke of Bedford resigned the

* The majorities varied upon different clauses of the bill, but the average may be taken as about 270 to 90.

next day. The two posts of master of the horse and president of the council, which had both been kept open for the acceptance of Bedford, if he could have been induced to give up his seals of secretary of state, were now filled—Lord Harrington got the first, and Lord Granville the second. This ex-premier had lost none of his fire or confidence—his hard drinking had apparently affected neither his health nor his intellect. "Lord Granville," says Horace Walpole, "comes into power as boisterously as ever, and dashes at everything." Lord Holderness got the Duke of Bedford's place, and Lord Halifax, at the head of the Board of Trade, endeavoured to get the colonies subjected to that Board, and to be nominated a third secretary of state for the West Indies and America; but George would not consent to part with any of his authority in that quarter. In delivering the seals to Holderness, he charged him to mind only the business of his province, telling him that of late the secretary's office had been turned into a mere office of faction.* The Leicester House party, headed by Bubb Dodington, made overtures to the Pelhams, offering, upon what Bubb calls "proper conditions," to join them with all their force, and to increase their majorities to such an extent that the displaced Bedford party would be absolutely crushed; but the Pelhams did not consider them worth buying. Some new subsidising treaties were recognised by both Houses with little difficulty. The avowed object of these burdensome engagements was to secure the election of Maria Theresa's eldest son, the Archduke Joseph, as King of the Romans! It would, with the most microscopie eye, be difficult to detect what interest or concern England had in this mighty matter; but it is evident that George took the greatest interest in it, and his eagerness is accounted for—at least in good part—by his jealousy of his nephew of Prussia, who had taken several recent opportunities of insulting his uncle. "Indeed," says Walpole, "it was a constant war of piques and affronts between the

* Walpole, *Memoirs of George II.*—Letters to H. Mann.

king and his nephew of Prussia. The latter had insisted upon the recall of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, who had sacrificed to the ruling passion of the uncle by treating the character of the King of Prussia, in his public despatches and private letters, in the strongest terms of satire."* Williams had his revenge; for, returning to Dresden, he concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland (one and the same potentate), who engaged with George to traverse the designs of Frederick and to give his vote for the Archduke Joseph. Frederick lost no time in reviling his uncle, whom he called the last and youngest of the electors.

In the course of the present year (1751) the calendar was changed, upon the motion of Lord Chesterfield, and the Gregorian was adopted, in order to make our computation of time harmonise with that of the rest of civilised Europe. The Duke of Newcastle said he was averse to disturb that which was at rest, and did not love new-fangled things; but his grace was laughed at.

A.D. 1752.—The displaced Duke of Bedford seemed so far from meditating opposition, that he came up from Woburn on the re-opening of parliament to ask the king for a pension for Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, his wife's sister. It was understood that the Pelhams would have pressed the king to grant this trifling boon, were it only to silence Bedford's murmurs, and to keep him, by the weight of an obligation, quiet in the House of Lords. But the feeble opposition corps wished to fix Bedford against the court, and to engage him to speak against the Saxon treaty; and they succeeded in inflaming the duke, "whose warmth was most impetuous." The House had met after the Christmas recess on the 7th of

* *Memoirs*. The letters of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams from Berlin, which Walpole gives in the Appendix to his *Memoirs*, contain nothing about Frederick but what has been related in bitterer terms by many others. The iron rod with which this nephew of George ruled is no invention, no satire, but simple truth.

January; on the 16th Mr. Pelham produced the treaty with Saxony; and on the 28th the Duke of Bedford opened the opposition to it with much spirit and considerable ability. The duke concluded by moving for an address to represent that subsidiary treaties ought never to be concluded in time of peace, especially after a long and costly war, and that they were neither necessary at present, nor likely to procure any real advantage. The Duke of Newcastle, Lord Halifax, and the Duke of Argyll defended the treaty; and Lord Granville put an end to the debate by saying that, as our army was limited at home, we ought to have the faculty of making in one day 18,000 men 50,000; that, if we no longer took German princes into our pay, we had a bridge without complete arches; and that we must count upon our power of subsidising as the best means of checking France, &c. The motion was rejected in the Lords without a division. The subject was renewed in the Commons, where Lord Harley made a motion against subsidies in time of peace. Several strong things were said, and some of them in a good manner; but they were all said purely for party purposes and without any real patriotic feeling. Old Horace Walpole spoke on one side and voted on the other—a kind of parliamentary behaviour not without recent precedent. But in the end the motion was rejected by 180 to 52. The Duke of Newcastle was “flustered” by the Duke of Bedford’s unexpected activity:—his brother Pelham tried to provide against it, and met Bubb Dodington by appointment. Without a blush, and with very little periphrasis, the opulent boroughmonger asked the premier how much he would give in titles and places. Pelham acknowledged Bubb’s great weight in boroughs, and assured him that he had already attempted to remove his majesty’s prejudices. Bubb’s members, he said, would be of the more importance, as he and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, had made up their minds to have a new parliament—“a parliament that should be all of a piece—such a parliament as might serve the king if he lived, and be steady to put the young king in the right way,

if the old one died—he meant a thorough Whig parliament.” The man of boroughs plainly intimated that, if the king would consent to receive Bubb Dodington kindly at court, and give him a place, he would join the ministry with tongue, boroughs, and votes; but that if he would not so gratify him he would turn patriot and do his best to prevent Pelham’s “thorough Whig parliament all of a piece.” The minister, who knew what he had to contend with in the obstinacy and aversions of his royal master, gave Bubb flattering assurances, and invited himself, “in a most gentlemanlike and obliging manner,” to dine with him at his gorgeous but tasteless mansion at Hammersmith. But the minister carefully avoided binding himself in any specific promises, and Bubb, being too old a bird at court and parliament to take his chaff, avoided just as carefully the doing anything for him. The dinner at Hammersmith did not bring about a conclusion to the bargain, and several other meetings ended with nothing more solid than expressions of mutual esteem. In one of these conversations Bubb spoke cunningly of dissensions in the ministerial quarters, and of “somebody fastened upon them,” who was not always in a humour to obey their orders. Pelham said quickly, “Who, Pitt?” Bubb said No, he thought it was Fox; and then Pelham, with great signs of uneasiness and discomposure, repeated in a low tone, “Oh, Mr. Fox.”*

In the meanwhile the Duke of Bedford continued to make a phantom of opposition in the Lords. A bill which had passed the Commons without opposition, and which was designed to soften the severity of military law, was thrown out by the Lords, who could discover nothing wrong even in the Mutiny Bill, which was marked all over with the sanguinary genius of the Duke of Cumberland.† An attempt to diminish the necessity

* Bubb Dodington’s Diary.

† The severities in the Mutiny Bill, where, as Horace Walpole expresses it, “the penalty of death came over as often as the curses of the Commination Act on Ash Wednesday,” were generally attributed to the Duke.

of a standing army, by making the militia more effective, failed altogether. A bill for annexing to the crown the estates forfeited in Scotland by the late rebellion, and making provision, out of the rents of those estates, for establishing colonies and trade, and industry in the Highlands, met with better success. Legge, whose first promotion as a diplomatist had been favoured by Pitt, and who was rising in consideration as the ally of the great orator, declared that the system would have more effect than all that had been done about dress and jurisdiction, or that had been imposed by force; that we must either improve the condition of the Highlanders or exterminate the disaffected by fire and sword. "What is loyalty or disloyalty here," said Legge, "is there food or starving: feed the clans and they will obey; starve them and they must rebel. The means of eradicating this spirit in the common people are obvious: civilise them! Introduce the arts of peace among them!" This Scotch bill was passed in the Commons by a majority of 134 to 89, and in the Lords by 80 against 12.

On the 26th of March George prorogued parliament with a gracious speech, and then went over to Hanover. He was attended, as usual, by the Duke of Newcastle, who resumed his negotiations with the German electors, undeterred by the opposition speeches of the Duke of Bedford and his small party. Bavaria, Saxony, Mentz, Cologne, the Palatinate, were the chief scenes of Newcastle's negotiations; and tempting subsidies were held out to nearly every court in Germany, great or small. At the same time, George found himself involved in a double dispute with his nephew Frederick. Both Prussia and Hanover claimed possession of East Friesland (the English people hardly knew there was such a country), and George, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, proposed that the question should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council of the empire; but the King of Prussia would not submit to this arbitrament, and spoke of vindicating his rights with his dragoons and grenadiers. Nor did Frederick stop here:

he complained that certain Prussian vessels had been seized and plundered by the English cruisers during the last war, and he seized the revenues of certain mines in Silesia, which had been mortgaged to some English subjects by the late Emperor Charles VI., for the loan of 250,000*l*. Frederick himself, in obtaining from Maria Theresa the cession of Silesia, had guaranteed this mortgage in public treaties; but when his animosities or interests were concerned he cared little for public or private faith, and he answered the English memorialists, who represented the debt as due to *private* individuals, with insolent invectives. A cabinet correspondence ensued on the subject of the ships and the mines; and, as a complete revolution was working in our foreign politics, and as Frederick saw he might be placed in a situation to court and need the alliance of his uncle, he dropped his claims as to the shipping, and resumed the payment of the interest upon the loan. We had, in fact, by this time come almost to an open breach with the House of Austria, who had treated our ambassador, Lord Hyndford, with insolence and arrogance, and had refused to admit the arbitration of the King of England in claims and other matters relating to the Elector Palatine. George, through the mouth and pen of the Duke of Newcastle, denounced the court of Vienna as ungrateful and impertinent, and threatened to form a connexion with France and with Prussia, if they did not instantly comply with his ultimatum. Lord Hyndford, in fact, was recalled; but, as he was taking his leave, Maria Theresa's imperial husband, who was much less imperious than herself, made use of strong expressions of gratitude to England, and offered in his own person to place 500,000 florins at the disposal of King George; towards the liquidation of the claims of the Elector Palatine. George insisted that he ought to have 700,000 florins; the court of Vienna then offered 600,000—we feel as if we were detailing the dealings, not of great nations and empires, but of a set of pedlars and trucksters—but George stuck to his 700,000, and the quarrel with Vienna, fanned by France, grew hotter. . The Duke of

Newcastle thought it necessary to declare that the honour of the king his master and the reputation of the people of England were at stake!

George found no relief from these Continental embarrassments in the squabbles which had broken out in his own family, or in the household of the young Prince of Wales. The princess-dowager had taken an aversion to Lord Harcourt, the governor, and the Bishop of Norwich, the preceptor of her son, and had been at no pains to conceal her feelings either in her own house or elsewhere.* She had peculiar notions of education, and does not appear to have considered that, if she failed in respect to her son's instructors, he was very likely to follow her example. She told Bubb Dodington, whom she consulted and admitted very frequently to her society both at Kew and at Leicester House, that she had a very poor opinion of the prince's preceptors. She asked Bubb what use there was for princes in logic and books; and Bubb said, not much. It appears from other quarters, that in sundry little disagreements the princess had taken part with Stone and with Scott, the sub-preceptor, against Lord Harcourt and the bishop; and that it was no unusual thing for Harcourt, a proud pantheistic courtier, to be left waiting in the hall at Kew among the servants. Horace Walpole, who disliked the man, describes his lordship as being over minute and strict in trifles;† and the bishop as being sincerely

* In the month of July Horace Walpole writes—"The tutorhood at Kew is split into factions; the Bishop of Norwich and Lord Harcourt openly at war with Stone and Scott, who are supported by Cresset, and countenanced by the princess and Murray (*the solicitor-general, and afterwards Lord Mansfield*); so, my Lord Bolingbroke dead, will govern, which he never could living."—*Letter to H. Mann.*

† Lord Harcourt was minute and strict in trifles; and, thinking that he discharged his trust conscientiously if on no account he neglected to make the prince turn out his toes, he gave himself little trouble to respect the princess, or to condescend to the sub-governor."—*Memoirs of George II.*

honest and zealous in the education of the two princes, but as too apt to thwart the princess, who "as an indulgent, or perhaps a little, as an ambitious mother," was desirous of relaxing application, or giving the boy too many holydays. After some fruitless attempts to make up matters at Kew, the perplexed old king, on the 6th of December, accepted the resignations of Lord Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich. Lord Harcourt had complained before this, by letter and otherwise, that dangerous notions and arbitrary principles were instilled into the prince, and that he could be of no use unless the instillers of these doctrines, Stone and Scott, were dismissed; and the princess-dowager actually confessed to Dodington that she knew and had long known Stone for a decided Jacobite! This subject caused a great excitement beyond the purlieus of the court; nor is it easy to conceive a matter in which the people at large could be more interested than in the education of their future sovereign. An anonymous letter was sent to Dr. Newton, a popular preacher, setting forth the dangerous way the prince's education was left in, and putting it to him as a sacred duty to take notice of it in the pulpit. Another anonymous letter on the same subject was sent to General Hawley, the hero of Falkirk Muir, whose own education had been so sadly neglected that it was said of him he could scarcely read and write. Hawley carried the letter, which ran in the name of the Whig nobility and gentry, to the Duke of Cumberland, who laid it before the king. Great pains were taken to find out the author of it, but they were taken in vain. Many years after the fact Horace Walpole let the public into his confidence,* confessing that he wrote the startling letter.

But the princess had no right to complain of Harcourt's formality; for she had declared that she looked upon a governor to her son "as a sort of pageant—a man of quality for shows," &c.—*Dodington's Diary*.

* In *Memoirs of the last Ten Years of George II.*, where the memorial is given at length, and where he says,

Vexed by these clamours and beset by the princess-dowager, who begged for the appointment of Dr. Johnson, Bishop of Gloucester, the king hardly knew whom to choose either as chief preceptor or as governor; and when he made a selection he found that one lord after another declined the invidious post. "Many," says Walpole, "were named, and many refused it. At last, after long waiving it, Lord Waldegrave, at the earnest request of the king, accepted it, and after repeated assurances of the submission and tractability of Stone."* Lord Waldegrave was a man of strict honour, a most faithful and attached servant to the king, of an amiable disposition and excellent understanding, a scholar, and a gentleman in the highest acceptation of the latter term; but he had few exterior graces to recommend him, and, what was of more consequence and somewhat strange in the eye of the public, were the facts that the blood of James II., through an illegitimate channel, ran in his veins; his family were all Papists, and his father had been but the first convert to the established church.† The Whigs took fire and criticised this choice severely. The preceptor finally fixed upon was Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Peterborough, against whom it appears there was nothing to say.

A.D. 1753.—The Duke of Bedford had declared in his speech that no objection could be taken to the ap-

in a foot-note, "It was written by the author of these Memoirs."

* Walpole's Memoirs.

† Lord Waldegrave's grandmother was a daughter of James II. by Arabella Churchill, sister to the great Duke of Marlborough. His grandfather, a zealous Papist, followed his king and father-in-law into exile, and died in Paris in 1689. Waldegrave's father became a Protestant in 1722, to the great scandal of the Jacobites and fury of his uncle, the Duke of Berwick. After his conversion he was employed both by George I. and George II. in important embassies, and he died an earl and a Knight of the Garter in 1741. —*Introduction to Memoirs from 1754 to 1758, by James Earl Waldegrave, K. G.*

pointment of Lord Waldegrave—that the choice was the more acceptable as it was his majesty's own, who always acted right when he acted himself, &c. But, though Waldegrave might be considered fit for the place, he soon found that the place was not fit for him. His royal pupil would not give him his affection or confidence, and the princess-dowager hated him because he was appointed by the king, and chose always to consider that he was placed as a spy over her. "I found his royal highness," says the plain-speaking, and, as we believe, thoroughly veracious Lord Waldegrave,* "uncommonly full of princely prejudice, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bed-chamber women, and pages of the back stairs. As a right system of education seemed quite impracticable, the best which could be hoped for was to give him true notions of common things; to instruct him by conversation, rather than by books; and sometimes, under the disguise of amusement, to entice him to the pursuit of more serious studies."† His lordship, in speaking of the Prince of Wales afterwards, when his royal highness was entering into his twenty-first year, says, that great allowances should be made on account of his *bad* education; for that, though the Bishop of Peterborough the preceptor, Mr. Scott the sub-preceptor, and Mr. Stone the sub-governor, were men of sense, learning, and worth, they had but little weight and influence, the mother and the nursery having always

* We have expressed before our conviction of the truthfulness of Lord Waldegrave's pen. His lordship, in opening his *Memoirs*, says, "I will advance no facts which are not strictly true, and do not mean to misrepresent any man; but will make no professions of impartiality, because I take it for granted that it is not in my power to be unprejudiced." We will not venture to say more for his lordship than he ventured to say for himself, but we feel assured that he was as impartial as human nature can be, and never misrepresented a fact.

† Waldegrave's *Memoirs*.

prevailed against them. His lordship found the prince uncommonly indolent, as indifferent to pleasure as to study, and seemingly with few lively affections. His mother had prevented his associating with youths of his own age. She said that the young people of quality were so ill educated and so very vicious, that they frightened her. It cannot be denied that the prevailing immorality among young people of fashion was sufficient to justify a mother's fears; but it was shrewdly surmised that there was a mixture of ambition, and love of power and control, in these moral apprehensions; and that the princess-dowager gave her son a bad opinion of every body else, in order that she might the better keep him to herself, and prolong her own sway over him. Yet, on the other side, it may be assumed that the care with which she kept him, up to the age of manhood, from evil communications, contributed to form those habits of morality and decency which George III. afterwards displayed and enforced in his court. Lord Waldegrave, who was unfashionably grateful to his master George II., was compelled to listen to bitter sarcasms and complaints against his majesty at Kew Palace and Leicester House.

He laboured hard to restore harmony and union in the royal family—or rather to create it, for it never existed;—and, having free access to the king, he had frequent opportunities of doing good offices to the young prince and his mother. “I was,” says his lordship, “a very useful apologist whenever his majesty was displeased with his grandson’s shyness, or want of attention; and never failed to notify even the most minute circumstance of the young prince’s behaviour which was likely to give satisfaction.” He continued at his difficult post as chief governor for nearly three years, and was treated with, at least, civility, till the princess and her son conceived that enthusiastic affection for Lord Bute which brought about fresh revolutions in court and cabinet.

For nearly a century, or ever since the Restoration, the Jews, persecuted everywhere else except in Holland, had enjoyed a kind of toleration in England; and many

of the old superstitions and hatreds had been gradually forgotten by the English people.* In the reign of Queen Anne the Jews had even offered Lord Treasurer Godolphin half a million sterling, if he would obtain for them permission to purchase the town of Brentford, with full privileges of trade, &c. The offer was tempting—the Jews, it is said, would have doubled it—and the prospect of the attendant advantages more so; but Godolphin was deterred, and let the scheme drop, because “he foresaw that it would provoke two of the most powerful bodies in the nation—the *clergy* and the *merchants*.” Godolphin, perhaps, knew not the arguments of Oliver Cromwell; but Mr. Pelham, whether he knew them or not, seems to have considered that the time was come when the experiment upon bigotry and prejudice might be carried out; and he introduced, as a ministerial measure, a bill for permitting the naturalisation of foreign Jews. This bill passed through the House of Lords without exciting a murmur even from the bench of bishops; but, upon being sent down to the Commons, it encountered a fierce and formidable opposition. It was read for the first time on the 17th of April; but, on the 7th of May, when the question was put for the second reading, the great combat took place—the factious opposition being greatly encouraged by the abuse which the bill encountered out of doors. Men not hitherto noted for any zeal for religion began to fight under the banners of prophecy, proclaiming that to give the Jews a settlement anywhere would be an impious attempt to oppose the will of the Almighty as signified by the prophets, who had foretold the eternal dispersion of that accursed race. Mr. Pelham replied like a philosopher and a statesman. He could not allow himself to believe that the church of England could be

* A negotiation, indeed, was begun for permitting the return of the Jews in the time of the Protectorate; and in *Spencer's Anecdotes* there is a curious account of Cromwell's proposing to grant them permission to have a synagogue in London.

in any danger, or that he was bound to deem every man his enemy who differed from him on a point of religion. His speech made some impression, and the second reading was carried by 95 against 16. But the men who had made the question merely a handle for factious opposition and party strife, continued the combat, and loaded the table of the House with petitions from the corporation of London, from merchants, and traders; and procured council to be heard and witnesses to be examined. But in the end the Jews Bill was passed by 96 honourable members against 55.

Complaints had arisen among the country gentlemen that the old laws were insufficient for the preservation of game, and that poaching was greatly on the increase: during the session a new game act was carried through both Houses; but it had not the effect of tranquillising the minds of our little Nimrods, and our jails continued to be crowded as before with unqualified sportsmen, who there became qualified for the commission of much more serious offences.

The law of marriage had hitherto been so loose that all kinds of hurried and clandestine unions could be formed all over England with more facility than they are now at Gretna Green. No notice or publication of banns was required, no licence was looked for, and any parson might perform the ceremony at any time or in any place, without consent of parents, or any other preliminary conditions whatsoever; and the worst or the most needy of the clergy would often forward the most rash or disgraceful marriages for the sake of the paltry fee. The great temple of the pseudo Hymen was the Fleet prison. Parsons confined for debt, scoundrels fuddled with gin and tobacco, would marry in three minutes, and for the small charge of two shillings, any couple that presented themselves. "In walking along the street in my youth," says Pennant, "on the side next to this prison, I have often been tempted by the question, *Sir, will you be pleased to walk in and be married?* Along this most lawless space was hung up the frequent sign of a male and female hand conjoined, with

Marriages performed within, written beneath. A dirty fellow invited you in. The parson was seen walking before his shop; a squalid profligate figure, clad in a tattered plaid nightgown, with a fiery face, and ready to couple you for a dram of gin or roll of tobacco."* To put a stop to these crying abuses a bill was prepared by the judges under the auspices of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and brought into the Upper House. It provided that all marriages should henceforward take place either by banns published on three successive Sundays, or by licence granted in a regular manner; and that all other marriages should be void, and the parson that solemnised any such transported for seven years. It excited some severe criticisms in the House of Lords, particularly from the Duke of Bedford; and numerous amendments were introduced by their lordships. But when it reached the Commons it encountered far greater opposition: the Speaker, Mr. Nugent, Charles Townshend, and Mr. Fox, spoke with great acrimony against it. The bill with its amendments was not returned to the Peers before the 6th of June, and the prorogation was fixed for the 7th. Softened as it was, the Duke of Bedford attacked it with undiminished severity, and styled it a faulty and obnoxious law forced through parliament to gratify the prime minister. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke reluctantly concurred in the amendments, though he declared that several of them weakened the bill. Hardwicke then alluded in the plainest terms to the attacks made upon him in the Commons by Charles Townshend and Mr. Fox. He was content to treat Townshend as an amorous, hot, and inexperienced young man; but he could make no allowance for so grave a personage as his official colleague Mr. Fox. Choosing to overlook the circumstances which had attended Mr. Fox's own marriage, and which might, in themselves, have been sufficient to render the bill unpalatable in that quarter,† he at-

* Some Account of London.

† Mr. Fox's own marriage with the eldest daughter of the Duke of Richmond had been clandestine.

tributed his opposition to dark intrigue and faction. And unsoothed by Fox's apology he declared that he "despised his scurrility as much as his adulation and recantation."* We have seen how adroitly Bubb Dodgington had insinuated to Mr. Pelham a distrust of Fox; and it appears that Fox at this moment was closely connected with the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Bedford, that he had many personal friends and more political followers, that the distribution of military preferment had added greatly to his strength, and that he was looked up to as the rising minister in the House of Commons, in case of Mr. Pelham's death, resignation, or removal to the House of Peers.†

During the present sessions a bill was brought in by Mr. Potter, son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, to establish a general register of the population; but, after struggling with difficulty through the Commons, it was thrown out by the Lords. With unwonted liberality parliament enabled the commissioners of longitude to pay 20,000*l.* to Mr. Harrison for his improvements on chronometers; and they also passed an act empowering the crown to raise money by lottery to purchase the Sloane Library and Museum, the Harleian Manuscripts, and Montague House, in Russell-street. Such was the origin of the British Museum, to which Mr. Pelham, greatly to his honour, contributed very zealously.

The English parliament re-assembled on the 15th of November. It was notorious to every one that paid the least attention to public affairs that a new war was brewing—nay, that hostilities had actually been commenced by the French; on the confines of Canada and Nova Scotia. Yet the royal speech expressed a confidence that peace would be preserved, and congratulated Parliament upon the fact that there had been no important change in our foreign relations. It was easily understood that this tone, so much at variance with truth, proceeded

* Horace Walpole's *Memoirs*, and *Letters to Horace Mann*.—*Parl. Hist.*

† Lord Waldegrave's *Memoirs*.

from the fear of the approaching general election. The Jew Bill, passed a few months before, had inflamed the nation and excited the bigotry of the people to a degree which had not been witnessed since the affair of Doctor Sacheverel. The bishops had concurred in the bill, but the little curates and the country parsons preached against it everywhere, and the common people were led to believe that England would be made to partake in the curses pronounced by prophecy on Jerusalem and the Holy Land. If the Parliament had not been so near its close ministers might possibly have braved the storm; but, as matters stood, they resolved to allay it by throwing the bill overboard, like another Jonas. On the very day the Houses met, the Duke of Newcastle moved to repeal the bill, which, he said, had been merely a point of *political policy*, and it was repealed accordingly.

A.D. 1754.—The rest of the business of Parliament was not very important, and the session was drawing tranquilly to a close, when death deprived the king of his prime minister. Mr. Pelham, who had been in a bad state of health for many months, died rather suddenly on the 6th of March, in the sixty-first year of his age.* His brother, the Duke of Newcastle, an older man, and a far less able minister, resolved to step into his place, and, after deluding and balking Pitt and Fox, who both aimed at the treasury, he succeeded in gratifying his ambition; for the

* The candid Lord Waldegrave says of this much abused minister, "He had acquired the reputation of an able and honest minister; had a plain, solid understanding, improved by experience in business, as well as by a thorough knowledge of the world; and, without being an orator, or having the finest parts, no man in the House of Commons argued with more weight, or was heard with greater attention. He was a frugal steward to the public, averse to Continental extravagance and useless subsidies, preferring a tolerable peace to the most successful war; jealous to maintain his personal credit and authority, but nowise inattentive to the true interest of his country." Even the uncharitable Horace Walpole confesses that Pelham "lived without abusing his power and died poor."

king continued his personal dislike to Pitt, and Newcastle had art enough to drive Fox into declarations which displeased his majesty. The Duke of Newcastle made himself first lord of the treasury, gave his place of secretary of state to Sir Thomas Robinson, and appointed Mr. Legge, originally the *protégé* of Mr. Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt and Fox, left in their subordinate places, soon forgot their old rivalry in their common spite against Newcastle. But Pitt carefully concealed his resentment for some time, and continued to court the duke, whose creature or instrument he had repeatedly called himself. Newcastle, on his side, represented that, though Pitt had been left out, most of his friends were let in; thus, Lyttelton was treasurer of the navy, and Grenville cofferer. And, at the same time, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, at the duke's request, wrote a long letter to pacify Pitt. Hardwicke, touching lightly on that delicate subject, the king's aversion to Pitt, artfully instilled into the great orator motives of jealousy against Fox, who was described as hungering after promotion, and as being sure of obtaining it at Pitt's expense, if the latter should betray any inconsiderate resentment.*

The elections passed off more quietly than had been expected, and the new parliament was essentially a Pelham parliament. It met on the 31st of May, and sat for five or six days, in order to pass one bill, and to constitute itself a parliament.

The Earl of Albemarle, our ambassador, remonstrated and memorialised, but the French in Canada continued their encroachments, and, with a body of Indians, fell upon Major George Washington, who was erecting a little fort on the Ohio to protect the British territory. Washington, though then a very young man, displayed conduct as well as courage, but he was finally compelled to capitulate. The French continued erecting their forts, hoping to establish a chain of garrisons from Canada to the mouths of the Mississippi, and to starve out the British colonies; and, while Lord Albemarle was

* Hardwicke MSS., as cited in Quart. Rev., No. cxxxi.

negotiating at Paris, the French court sent out reinforcements to Quebec. The preservation of peace seemed an impossibility.

The new parliament re-assembled on the 14th of November; and then the king demanded supplies for the preservation of our rights in America; still, however, speaking as if all our differences with France and Spain might be accommodated by negotiation. But, in the debate upon the address, several members declared that Spain would never fulfil her promises, nor France cease her aggressions, until compelled by cannon-balls.

A.D. 1755.—It was not, however, till the month of March that ministers frankly announced to parliament that a war was inevitable. Sir Thomas Robinson, the new secretary of state, acquainted the Commons, by his majesty's command, that France was making preparations, and that our forces must be instantly augmented. The committee of supply eagerly voted a million for the defence of our American possessions; and Admiral Boscawen was sent, with a good fleet, towards the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to intercept a French fleet which had been prepared in the ports of Rochfort and Brest, and which was carrying reinforcements to the French Canadians. Boscawen was to fall upon the French, and, if possible, destroy them. He took post off the banks of Newfoundland; but the French admiral, Bois de la Mothe, passed him in a fog, without seeing him, and got safe into the river St. Lawrence. Two French ships of the line were, however, captured by Captain Howe (afterwards Lord Howe) and Captain Andrews. Howe displayed wonderful bravery, and quite as much skill; the action lasted some hours; and the prizes were found to contain about 8,000*l.* in money, and a considerable number of officers and engineers. As soon as this affair was known in Europe, the French recalled M. de Mirepoix, their ambassador at London, and M. de Bussy, whom they had recently sent to Hanover to negotiate with the king there. The court of Versailles complained most bitterly and loudly of Boscawen's attacking their ships in a time of peace: the court of St. James replied, that the French

had rendered reprisals justifiable and necessary by their encroachments and warlike operations in America; and we recalled our ambassador from Paris. In the month of July, Sir Edward Hawke went on a cruise, with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate, and a sloop; and, on the 14th of October, Admiral Byng took the sea with twenty-two ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops. Both these fleets failed in the attempt of intercepting the French fleet on its return from America; but, in the meantime, our cruisers and privateers almost annihilated the French trade in the West Indies. According to Smollet, before the end of the year, three hundred French merchant ships, many of them from St. Domingo and Martinico, and extremely rich, and about eight thousand French seamen, were brought into English ports.

The immediate cause of this war had not been Hanover, but Nova Scotia; but Hanover, in a manner, lay open to the vengeance of the French, who always treated that electorate as a sort of whipping-boy to the royalty of England. To avert the chastisement now threatened, George entered into subsidising treaties with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Empress of Russia, and the King of Prussia, who had long been negotiating, and who at last gave up his French alliance without ceremony and without scruple. This soon brought a strange revolution in French politics; for Louis XV., who had been leagued with Prussia to dismember the territories of the empress-queen, now entered into the closest alliance with the House of Austria, the ancient enemy of the Bourbons. Both England and France did their utmost to secure Spain; but the court of Madrid very wisely determined to remain neutral. So high was the reputation of Frederick the Great, that an opinion was very generally held, both on the continent and in England, that that side must prevail on which he threw his victorious sword; yet some of our statesmen chose to entertain a contrary opinion, and among them was Mr. Pitt. But, at the present moment, Pitt was still a disappointed man. In the course of the autumn of the preceding year, he came to an understanding with Fox that they should

unite their forces against Newcastle, and that Fox should be placed at the head of the treasury, and that he (Pitt) should be secretary of state. He had just at the same time increased his political importance by marrying Lady Hester Grenville, the sister of Lord Temple. The Duke of Newcastle was soon made aware of the Pitt and Fox alliance, which he determined to break, either by raising Pitt over Fox, or Fox over Pitt.* The premier employed old Horace Walpole to break their coalition. Walpole first applied to Pitt; but, as Pitt required an instant admission into the cabinet, he failed. The Duke of Newcastle, or rather the king, then had recourse to Lord Waldegrave, who has left his own account of the negotiation. "It became necessary," says his lordship, "that Pitt and Fox should be disunited: one of them must be treated with; and Fox was first applied to, as being thought more practicable, less disagreeable to the king, and more a man of business. As Fox was apt to be *snarling*, and the Duke of Newcastle as apt to be *shuffling*, it seemed necessary that some neutral person should negotiate between them; and his majesty thought proper to employ me on this occasion, because I belonged to neither of them, but was a wellwisher to both. That the progress of this amicable treaty might not be interrupted by a fresh quarrel, I persuaded them to defer their meeting till they had settled preliminaries, and clearly understood each other's meaning. Fox very readily gave me his demands in writing, which I reported to the king, and entered into a more minute explanation with the Duke of Newcastle, who made some objections and proposed some alterations, but consented to most of the material articles. There would have been many more difficulties if I had not begun by terrifying his grace with a melancholy representation of the fatal consequences of Fox's uniting with Pitt in open opposition. On the other hand, I assured Fox that the king had, if possible, still less inclination to make him a minister than the

* Bubb Dodington's Memoirs.—Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, and Letters in his Appendix.

Duke of Newcastle himself. I therefore advised him, as a friend, to rest satisfied with a moderate share of power, and to wait for a more favourable opportunity; unless he had absolutely determined to join Pitt, enter into all the violence of opposition, set the nation in a flame, and take the closet by storm.”* To remove some remaining difficulties, Lord Waldegrave proposed an interview between Fox and the premier, the result of which was an agreement that Fox should be called up to the cabinet; that employment should be given to some of his friends who were not yet provided for; and that others of his friends, who had places already, should be promoted. These arrangements were accordingly made.

But so much were Pitt and his party feared, that, during the king's absence on the Continent this summer, fresh overtures were made, with his majesty's consent, to the great orator. Pitt proudly said that he would content himself with no mean employment—that he would be really a minister. The Duke of Newcastle replied, as he had often done before, that he had the greatest respect and esteem for Mr. Pitt, and wished to gratify him in every particular; but that the king would never give his consent to admit him into the cabinet. Pitt, though he retained his lucrative office of paymaster, was thus confirmed in his resolution of making open war upon the whole ministry. Legge, the chancellor of the exchequer, sided with the paymaster, and concurred with him in refusing to pay a draft for 100,000*l.* on account of the Russian subsidy, the treaty for which had not received the sanction of parliament. This refusal was constitutional and proper; but it may be suspected that it would never have been made if Pitt's ambition had been gratified, and if Legge's pride had not been hurt by Newcastle, who treated him little better than a government clerk. The king came over in September, and parliament met on the 13th of November, to exhibit what has been well called “the *extraordinary* scene of the chancellor of the exchequer and the paymaster opposing the treaties of the

* Memoirs.

-crown, both in their details and principles."* Pitt, as an orator, surpassed himself. He denounced the whole scheme of foreign alliances as "flagrantly absurd and desperate;" as intended only to save Hanover at the expense of England; he lashed, crushed, crucified ministers, attacked Mr. Fox, and "even hinted up to the Duke of Cumberland himself."† "His eloquence," says Walpole, "like a torrent long obstructed, burst forth with more commanding impetuosity."‡ In the course of his speech he exclaimed, in the sure spirit of prophecy—"This, I hope, is the day that shall give the colour to my life!" The debate lasted till five o'clock in the morning. "If," says one of his bewitched audience, "eloquence could convince, Mr. Pitt would have had more than 105 against 311. . . . The expectation of the world is suspended, to see whether these gentlemen will resign or be dismissed: perhaps neither; perhaps they may continue in place and not oppose."§ But the world was not left long in doubt; for, on the 20th of November, a week after the great oratorical display, the irritated king dismissed both Pitt and Legge: Pitt's brother-in-law, George Grenville, treasurer of the navy, was turned out on the same day, and his other brother-in-law, James Grenville, resigned his seat at the board of trade. The great orator felt confident that the cause of his dismissal would raise him to be the idol of the people; but, at the same time, he accepted from the court a pension of 1000*l.* a-year! In the recasting of parts in the ministerial drama, Sir George Lyttelton, who had some time before quarrelled with Pitt and joined the Duke of Newcastle, was made chancellor of the exchequer in lieu of Legge; Pitt's place of paymaster was split into two, and conferred upon the Earl of Darlington and Viscount Duplin; Soame Jenyns obtained a seat at the board of trade, and Bubb Dodington, after many hopes delayed, crosses, losses, and heart-burnings, got snugly back to

* Quart. Rev. No. cxxxi.

† Horace Walpole, Letter to General Conway.

‡ Id., Memoirs of George II. § Id., Letters to Mann.

the treasurership of the navy.* Mr. Fox gained an important step; for the king at length consented to dismiss Sir Thomas Robinson, and gave him the seals of secretary of state. Lord Berrington, formerly master of the wardrobe, succeeded Fox as secretary-at-war. The Duke of Leeds became cofferer in place of Sir George Lyttelton; the Duke of Marlborough became master of the Ordnance, a place which had long been kept vacant; and Lord Gower stepped into the place which Marlborough vacated, that of lord privy seal. There were several minor appointments and one or two pensions, granted as usual upon Ireland; but Fox complained in the beginning that Newcastle did not keep his promise; but kept too many of these good things for his own creatures.

It is evident to every one that this cabinet could not stand. The Princess Dowager of Wales was furious against the Duke of Newcastle for having admitted Fox to the cabinet, and the Duke of Cumberland to the regency. She still dreaded the power of her royal brother-in-law, and hated Cumberland as much as she feared him. Until recently she had hated Pitt, but now she admitted him as chief and arbiter of the little junta of Leicester House. "Pitt," says Lord Waldegrave, "who had been a groom of the bedchamber to the prince her husband, and had not quitted his master in the most decent manner, makes a tender of his services, with the assistance of his relations and friends, which are joyfully accepted. This treaty was negotiated by the Earl of Bute, at that time a favourite of little fame, but who has since merited a very

* Bubb records one very sad tale of pecuniary loss. Having, as he fancied, made sure of ministers, he had spent in the preceding year nearly 5000*l.* in a disputed election, and had not even received the thanks of the court. Nay, the Duke of Newcastle had told him that the king said that he could not confer on him any mark of his favour. "And yet," says Bubb, "Mr. Pelham had declared that I had a good deal of *marketable ware* (parliamentary interest), and that if I would empower him to offer it all to the king without conditions, he would be answerable to bring the affair to a good account."

uncommon reputation."* The substance of the treaty was, that Pitt and his friends should do their utmost to support the princess-dowager and her son, and to oppose the Duke of Cumberland and raise a clamour against him. An event had occurred during the preceding summer which engaged Leicester House deeper in faction than was at first intended. During his majesty's absence from England the Duchess of Brunswick Wolfenbettel paid him a visit at Hanover, with two unmarried and marriageable daughters. The elder of the young princesses was handsome, cheerful, modest, sensible, and accomplished; and George was so charmed with her that he was eager to marry her at once to his grandson, who was entering into his eighteenth year.† As soon as the king's intention was whispered in England, the Princess Dowager of Wales, who, to use the language of a courtier, who probably repeated the very words of the old king, "was tempted to do a job for her own relations, by marrying her son to one of the Saxe Gotha family," exerted all her influence and all her energy to defeat it. "The young princess," adds Lord Waldegrave, who was still governor to the prince, "was most cruelly misrepresented; many even of her perfections were aggravated into faults; his royal highness implicitly believing every idle tale and improbable aspersions, till his prejudice against her amounted to aversion itself. From this time all duty and obedience to the grandfather entirely ceased: for, though it would have been difficult to have persuaded him to do that which he thought wrong, he was ready to think right whatever was prompted either by his mother or by her favourite, the Earl of Bute." About three months after the king's return to England, the old king called the Prince of Wales into his closet; not to propose the match, which he knew would be rejected, but to find out the ex-

* Memoirs.

† Old George afterwards told Lord Waldegrave, with much animation, that, had he been only twenty years younger, the young lady would never have been refused by a Prince of Wales, but should at once have been Queen of England.

tent of his political knowledge, to sift him and caution him against evil counsellors. The discourse was short, the substance kind and affectionate, though the king's manner was not quite gracious. "The prince," says the narrator who best knew what passed, and was least capable of misrepresenting it, "was flustered and sulky; bowed, but scarce made any answer: so the conference ended very little to the satisfaction of either party. Here his majesty was guilty of a very capital mistake: instead of sending for the prince, he should have spoken firmly to the mother; told her that, as she governed her son, she should be answerable for his conduct; that he would overlook what was passed, and treat her still like a friend, if she behaved in a proper manner; but, on the other hand, if either herself, her son, or any person influenced by them, should give any future disturbance, she must expect no quarter: he might then have ended his admonition, by whispering *a word in her ear*, which would have made her tremble, *in spite of her spotless innocence.*" The one word in Lord Waldegrave's mind was, no doubt, BUT. The sudden and extraordinary favour of that handsome Scotch lord had long before this given rise to sinister reports and scandals that fell heavily upon the fair fame of the princess-dowager. The admission of Lord Waldegrave, that the princess's innocence was spotless, is corroborated by others who had the best opportunities of judging of the fact; but, nevertheless, the rumours were loud and of dangerous import. The virtue of the princess-dowager was weighed in the scales of faction, and while she was maintained to be all purity and continence by the opposition, the government party was ready to declare a somewhat different opinion. At a subsequent period we shall find the case altered, and that the princess-dowager's virtue becomes dross under the assay of the opposition, and double refined gold in that of the government party. It was this family-war which animated the cause, and gave spirit and vigour to the so-called *Patriots*! Yet, though aided by the splendid rhetoric of Pitt, the opposition could scarcely diminish the great majority of ministers; and it was even thought

that the ill humour of Leicester House did more harm than good.

A.D. 1756.—For the navy 50,000 men, including marines, were voted; for the army 34,263 native British; and enormous supplies, necessitating new duties and taxes, were carried by immense majorities. As there was a rumour of flat-bottomed boats and invasion, parliament even consented to the bringing over 8000 Hanoverians and Hessians for the defence of England.

The king's negotiations with the Czarina came to nothing, and the Russians joined the French and Austrians against the King of Prussia, who was, moreover, threatened by the Poles and the Saxons. The plan of the empress-queen was to bring an army of Muscovites into the heart of Germany, and to throw them and the Saxons upon Frederick in an unguarded moment. But Frederick was the last prince in the world to be caught napping: he made his treaty with George to include as a principle the prevention of the introduction of foreign troops into the empire (a stipulation which was alike calculated to save Prussia from the Russians, and Hanover from the French); he wrote to his now loving uncle that it was better *prævenire quam præveniri*; and he attended with all his wonderful activity and untiring application to the improving and increasing of his veteran army.

But before Frederick marched to victory the flag of England was disgraced. While ministers were alarmed with hostile preparations on the Channel, and bringing over Hessians and Hanoverians to be useless and to be laughed at, the French got ready a vast armament in the Mediterranean to pounce upon Minorca, which we had left in a miserable state of defence. Even when they were duly informed that this French fleet would soon sail from Toulon, our ministers pretended that it was nothing more than a feint, to facilitate a descent upon England or Ireland by drawing off our ships of the line to blockade the rotten part of the French navy in the harbour of Toulon; and they persisted in keeping our ships at home. But, as Minorca was prized next to Gibraltar,

and as Pitt and the people began to exclaim against this neglect, they awoke from their lethargy, and tardily despatched Admiral Byng, with what the admiral thought an insufficient fleet, to the Mediterranean. Byng was instructed to touch at Gibraltar, to take on board some troops there, and then to proceed with all haste to Port Mahon. But the governor and garrison of Gibraltar, alarmed by reports of an intended siege, called a council of war, and absolutely refused to spare Byng a battalion. The lateness and the insufficiency of the expedition was Byng's first misfortune—this was the second; and he made it worse by intimating to the Admiralty at home that, in case he found it dangerous to attempt the relief of Minorca, he should retire under the guns of Gibraltar! Time was lost again, of which too much had been lost already; the Duke of Richelieu had landed in Minorca with 16,000 men; and la Galissoniere was cruising off Port Mahon with thirteen ships of the line. In fact, so wretchedly had the expedition been timed, that Byng, who had to cross the Bay of Biscay, to touch at Gibraltar, and then traverse two hundred leagues of the Mediterranean, left Spithead only *three* days before the French, who had merely to cross the Gulf of Lyons, and sail some seventy leagues in all, left Toulon. Byng had only ten ships of the line, and these in not very good condition; yet Admiral Anson, now a peer and at the head of the Admiralty, had declared that this squadron would beat anything the French had or could have in the Mediterranean; and upon this confident assertion the Duke of Newcastle had disregarded the advice of Mr. Fox, to send more ships.* Byng, however, was joined at Gibraltar by Captain Edgecombe, who had run down from Minorca (where he had left his marines to strengthen the castle) with a third-rate ship and a sloop; and as he sailed up the Mediterranean he was joined off Majorca by Captain Hervey in another ship. But all these vessels, which had been long cruising in the Mediterranean, were exceedingly foul. With

* Dodington's Diary.

that despondency which is in itself an assurance of failure or defeat, Byng, on the 18th of May, approached Minorca and saw the British colours still flying over the fortress of St. Philip, though the French flag was seen on other points, and numerous bomb-batteries were playing upon the castle. *La Galissoniere* was not in sight; but before Byng could send a letter on shore to General Blakeney, the brave old governor, whom we have seen before defending Stirling Castle, the whole French fleet, which now comprised four smaller vessels besides the thirteen ships of the line, appeared to the south-east advancing in order of battle. Byng then formed his line, and the men expected to be soon at their guns; but, about seven o'clock in the evening, *la Galissoniere* tacked, to gain the weather-gage: then Byng manœuvred so as to keep the advantage of the weather-gage,—and night fell without a gun being fired. When morning dawned the French fleet was invisible; but the English picked up a tartane (a small, one-masted vessel) with some French soldiers on board, sent out to reinforce their fleet; and in a few hours that fleet itself re-appeared. The line of battle was again formed on either side, and about two o'clock in the afternoon Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. His second in command, Rear-Admiral West, perceiving it impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his division, not two, but *seven* points from the wind, and, closing down, attacked the French with such spirit that he drove several of their ships out of the line. But Byng, enslaved by his despondency and that passion for routine and rigid discipline which, together with his pride and austerity, had made him unpopular in the service, would not advance, saying that he was determined to keep his line entire—that nothing was so dangerous as an irregular fight; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his own captain, he left West to be destroyed or fall back, and he kept at such a wary distance, that his own ship, a noble vessel of ninety guns, was scarcely brought into action at all; for, though, in a paltry play of long guns, she received a shot or two in her hull, she

had not a single man either killed or wounded. West, of course, was obliged to veer round; and then *la Galissoniere*, who certainly had no inclination to continue the battle, edged away under easy sail, to join the ships which West had beaten. Then Byng gave the signal for chase, but he made no way upon them, as the enemy's ships were cleaner than his: towards evening he put his fleet on the other tack, in order to keep to the windward; and the next morning the French were altogether out of sight! *La Galissoniere*, who before Byng's appearance had landed supplies and reinforcements for the besiegers, was gone back towards Toulon, claiming the honours of victory. Having thus failed in destroying the French ships, Byng next failed in helping the English garrison. He called a council of war, and represented that forty-two men, including Captain Andrews of the *Defiance*, had been killed, and about one hundred and seventy wounded; that three of his best ships were so damaged in their masts and rigging that they could not keep the sea; that a great many of the seamen were sick, and that he had no hospital-vessel for the sick and wounded; that *la Galissoniere*, who might return,* was much superior to him in weight of metal; that in his opinion it was impossible to relieve Fort St. Philip, and that it would be imprudent, if practicable, to throw a handful of men and officers ashore, as they could only increase our loss in the inevitable surrender of that place; and, as the doleful end of all, he said that the fleet ought to make the best of its way back to Gibraltar. All his officers, and some colonels of regiments who had gone out with him from England, subscribed to this opinion; and Byng returned forthwith to the Rock. If old Blakeney had laid down his arms at the sight of the retiring fleet, which had done nothing for him, his conduct would have been excusable; but, though oppressed with age and sickness, and suffering the tortures of the gout, the

* The French admiral did return almost as soon as Byng was out of sight, but he took care to run away again before Hawke came in sight.

veteran held out till the beginning of July, when he obtained honourable terms of capitulation.*

As soon as ministers knew of Byng's retreat they sent out Admirals Hawke and Saunders to take the command in the Mediterranean, and Lord Tyrawley to supersede General Fowke as governor of Gibraltar. Byng, on learning that he was recalled, wrote a stinging letter to the Admiralty, in which he justified his conduct, and threw the blame of his failure upon ministers. Thereupon directions were sent to Admiral Hawke to put him under arrest. The ill-fated commander arrived as a prisoner at Portsmouth, where the people were with difficulty prevented from tearing him to pieces. The same rage against him prevailed all over the kingdom, and in no place to a greater extent than in London. It required a captain and a party of sixty dragoons to bring Byng up to London and save him from summary execution on the road. It was expected that he would be lodged in the Tower, but he was committed a close prisoner to an apartment in Greenwich Hospital. Meanwhile the Duke of Newcastle made the unseemly excuse that no blame could rest upon him as the sea was not his province. To this shallow reasoning his much dissatisfied colleague in office, Mr. Fox, replied that those who had the chief direction in an administration should always bear the greatest share of blame. And, in the month of October, Fox, after betraying what Dodington calls "an extraordinary perturbation," resigned; for, as Murray, the attorney-general, was about retiring to the bench and the House of Peers,† in spite of every effort to retain him in

* The king was so well satisfied with Blakeney's conduct that he made him an Irish lord.

† Sir Dudley Rider, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, had died very unexpectedly, and Murray put in for his place. Rather than lose their ablest debater in the House of Commons at a moment when his services were so much wanted ministers tempted him with a profusion of offers—as a very honourable employment, with a large salary for his own life, a considerable reversion for his family, and a peerage in futurity; but Murray, who had a large independent fortune,

the Commons, he foresaw that he should be left alone to contend in the Commons against Pitt and the opposition, whose tongues would be sharpened by other disgraces and failures besides those in the Mediterranean. Seeing that he had neither Fox nor Murray to fight his battles with Pitt, Newcastle endeavoured to disarm the great orator's hostility by bringing him into the cabinet; and he prevailed so far with the king as to convince him that Pitt was an inevitable necessity. But Pitt now thought himself strong enough to impose his own terms, and, when summoned to town by the king's orders, he positively refused to coalesce with Newcastle, or belong to any ministry of which that nobleman formed a part. The bewildered premier, who had recently incurred the mortal hatred of Leicester House, by opposing, as long as he could, the promotion of the Earl of Bute to be groom of the stole to the young Prince of Wales, while Pitt had, in a manner, identified himself with the interests of Bute, hardly knew where to look for colleagues and for support. At last he addressed himself to Lord Egmont, the Tory declaimer, who had gained a reputation in the House by his spirited speeches on the Opposition side, and who had an excellent character in private life. But Egmont would not engage with him upon the terms he offered. His grace next applied to the dashing, daring, Granville, who was president of the council, and modestly proposed exchanging employments, he, the duke, descending to the presidency, and Lord Granville mounting to the head of the treasury and premiership: but age had somewhat cooled Granville's boldness, and he told Newcastle that he was not now what he had been ten years ago, that experience had made him wiser, and that he was well contented with the ease and dignity of his present employment. At last, when all his proposals had been rejected, and when no man would stand in the gap, the Duke of Newcastle, after having filled the offices of secretary of state and first lord of the treasury and no children, refused them all, having always aimed at the post of Chief Justice, for which, in the estimation of all men, he was admirably qualified.

surey for thirty-two years, reluctantly resigned, and was followed by his friend the chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, who had held the seals nearly twenty years.

Nothing then was left for the king to do but to call in Pitt, whom he still detested, and Pitt's great political friends. Pitt showed no great eagerness, reporting that he had got a fit of the gout, a malady which he frequently and notoriously put on to serve an occasion. The Duke of Devonshire was scarcely more eager than Pitt, and did not accept the treasury and the nominal premiership till his majesty had given his word, that, in case he disliked his employment, he should be at full liberty to resign at the end of the approaching session of parliament. Lord Temple and Lord Bute—for the understanding with Leicester House was now complete—seem to have had the chief management, the king mentally reserving to himself the determination to undo what was now done as soon as he should be able. Pitt, therefore, succeeded Fox as secretary of state; his friend Legge was reappointed chancellor of the exchequer in lieu of Sir George Lyttelton, who was raised to the peerage and retired into the country to study divinity, and to write Dialogues of the Dead; Pitt's brother-in-law, Lord Temple, was placed at the head of the Admiralty in lieu of Lord Anson, who had become exceedingly unpopular on account of our naval failures; and Temple's brother, George Grenville, was made treasurer of the navy in the place of Bubb Dodington, who had scarcely held that office a year; Pitt's other brother-in-law, James Grenville, was restored to his seat at the treasury board; the great seal was put in commission, with Willis, chief justice of the Common Pleas, as first commissioner; and the rest of Pitt's friends were provided for in the treasury, admiralty, or other places of less consequence, in proportion to their parliamentary interest or their abilities in debate.

But the ministry thus formed was so badly provided with interest in the boroughs that it was said to resemble an administration out of parliament, and it was no easy matter to turn the House of Commons now sitting from

their old allegiance to Newcastle. Dr. Hay, one of the new lords of the admiralty, was defeated in an election at Stockbridge by the friends of Fox, and there was a difficulty in finding a borough for Charles Townshend. Nor was the conduct of some of the new cabinet at all calculated to remove the antipathies of the king. Pitt protested he would not serve if thanks were moved in the House of Commons to his majesty for having brought over the Hanoverian troops; and Lord Temple thwarted the royal inclination in this and in several other matters. Pitt, however, was ready and willing to support his majesty's treaties in Germany; and parliament opened in the midst of clamours, and discontent, and popular riots in many places, occasioned by the excessive dearness of bread. Notwithstanding his numerous and his very recent protests against German treaties and alliances, Pitt adopted the subsidising treaty with Prussia, which was avowedly for the defence of Hanover; and his first appearance as *minister* in the House of Commons was to express his affection for our good ally the King of Prussia, and to propose a vote of 200,000*l.* on his account. Fox reminded him that he had lately called Hanover "a mill-stone round the neck of England;" but Pitt paid little attention to such attacks, and kept his countenance in spite of his inconsistency. The brilliant achievements of Frederick may perhaps have convinced him that this time the money of England would not be altogether thrown away. One evening, in the month of August, Frederick, at a great supper, whispered to Sir Andrew Mitchell, the English ambassador, that he wished to see him at three o'clock on the following morning. Mitchell kept the early appointment, and was conducted by Frederick to his camp. "Here," said the great soldier, "are a hundred thousand men setting out this instant they know not whither: write to your master that I am going to defend his majesty's dominions and my own." By the end of August Frederick was master nearly of all Saxony; by the middle of September he had taken possession of Dresden, blockaded the Saxon army in their fortified camp at Pirna, and defeated two Austrian armies;

and by the middle of October he had compelled the Saxons to fly everywhere or surrender, and had driven their elector into his kingdom of Poland. The "Seven Years' War" was now fairly begun: France, Sweden, Russia, all declared against Frederick; and our hopes of coming honourably out of the war on the continent of Europe, and advantageously out of it in America and the East Indies, all rested upon the personal safety and the genius and energy of that wonderful man.

A.D. 1757.—The overthrow of the cabinet which had employed him had not the effect of moderating the popular indignation against Admiral Byng; and, if the Duke of Newcastle and his colleagues had been willing to make him a scapegoat, the new ministry were just as unwilling to contract any odium by saving him. After Pitt's accession to office the admiral was removed from Greenwich to Portsmouth harbour, and there, on board the *St. George*, his trial was begun by court-martial. Byng made so sure of a prompt acquittal, that he kept a post-chaise standing daily, nay, hourly, ready to carry him up to London, as it were in triumph; and he told a friend that, as soon as he should reach town, he would take his seat in the House of Commons, and return the charge upon his enemies by a regular accusation, the heads of which he had written out.* But after a long and careful examination of witnesses—the trial lasted a month—the court-martial † came to the resolution that Byng had not done his utmost to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, nor to assist such of his majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of Fort St. Philip; and they, therefore, unanimously agreed that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament of the twenty-second year of his present majesty, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act the laws relating to the government of his majesty's ships,

* Letter from Mr. Symmer to Sir Andrew Mitchell, in Sir H. Ellis's Collection.

† Id.

vessels, and forces by sea ; and, as that article positively prescribed death without any alternative left to the discretion of the court, under any variation of circumstances, the court did unanimously adjudge the said Admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time, and on board such ship, as the lords commissioners of the admiralty should direct. The court, however, added to their sentence that, as it appeared by the evidence of Lord Robert Bertie, Colonel Smith, Captain Gardener, and other officers who were near the person of the admiral during the engagement, that they did not perceive any backwardness in him during the action, or any marks of fear or confusion either from his countenance or behaviour, and that he did not seem wanting in personal courage, the court, from these and other circumstances, did not believe that his misconduct arose either from cowardice* or disaffec-

* That vain, flighty, and empty scribbler and poetaster, the Rev. Percival Stockdale, who was an officer of marines before he entered the church, and who was present in the engagement off Minorca, says, roundly, that Byng betrayed symptoms of personal fear ; but the assertions of such a coxcomb scarcely merit any attention. "A very odd circumstance," says the correspondent of Sir Andrew Mitchell, "was thrown in after the close of the evidence, which has afforded matter of speculation. A letter came from M. Voltaire addressed to Mr. Byng, which was stopped at the post-office, brought to Lord Holderness, and opened. This contained an original letter from the Duke de Richelieu to M. Voltaire, in which he declared that Mr. Byng had acted like a brave and a prudent admiral in the engagement ; and that, as the French were greatly superior in men and in the condition of their ships to the English on that occasion, had Mr. Byng obstinately persisted in a closer engagement, he must by that have given up the English fleet to sure destruction. You may judge whether that attestation could have been of great service to Mr. Byng. Many are of opinion that this *certificate* of good behaviour had been begged by him or his friends."—*Letter from Symmer to Mitchell, in Sir H. Ellis's Collection.*

A better objection to the letter would be, that Richelieu, on shore and at a distance of some leagues, could hardly be

tion, and did therefore unanimously think it their duty most earnestly to recommend him as a proper object of mercy : and, not resting satisfied with this, the president of the court-martial, and every member of it, sent up a petition or representation to the board of admiralty, where Pitt's brother-in-law, Lord Temple, now presided. "In the whole course of this trial," said they, "we have done our utmost endeavour to come at the truth, and to do the strictest justice to our country and the prisoner ; but we cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under a necessity of condemning a man to death under the great severity of the twelfth article of war, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment only ; and therefore, for our own consciences' sakes, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to his majesty's clemency." Nothing was more uncommon than the execution of any criminal when his judge recommended him to the mercy of the crown ; but in the present instance it was resolved to let the law take its course.

The fate of Byng rested with the king and the king's advisers. It is generally stated that Pitt was willing that the unhappy officer should be pardoned, but wished to throw the unpopularity of the act on the king personally ;* and it appears to us quite in character that he

a good judge of what passed at sea. The letter should have been written by La Galissoniere ; but, even then, it would have had little weight with the English public, but would probably have increased the irritation. The sending of the letter was certainly the spontaneous act of Voltaire. His note to Byng, including Richelieu's letter, was written in English.

* Lord Waldegrave, upon whose strict veracity we rely, says—"The popular cry continued violent against the admiral ; but Pitt and Lord Temple were desirous to save him : partly to please Leicester House, and partly because making him less criminal would throw greater blame on the late

should carefully shun risking his own popularity, which he had revived and brightened up by going out of office on the Hessian subsidy in 1755, but which he had put in some peril by returning to office and voting for far greater subsidies in 1756. We can hardly credit that Pitt pretended to know more of the matter than all the officers who sat on the court-martial, or that he conceived (which the court-martial most assuredly did not) that Byng really merited death, and that the war articles, as applicable to his case, were *not* too severe. We know that Lord Temple, though equally anxious to avoid committing himself, looked upon the sentence of death with horror; yet Temple, as head of the admiralty, signed the sentence. Hence, we confess, the damning conviction rests on our minds that Pitt and his friends would rather permit a murder than lose office or risk the favour of the people by opposing their blind fury. The officers who had sat on the court-martial became exceedingly uneasy when they saw the execution advancing; but the city grew impatient for it, and Mr. Fox, to damage the popularity of Pitt and his associates, represented them in the House of Commons as being much too compassionate. At first three and then seven members of the court-martial renewed their solicitations at the admiralty; and Lord Torrington and other kinsmen and friends of the unfortunate Byng made a fruitless attempt upon the feelings of the old king. Some earnest but fruitless efforts were made in parliament by Captain Keppel who had sat on the court. As the last reed had broken, Byng was left to his fate. His heroic behaviour seemed to justify the sentence of the court-martial in exempting him from the foul charge of cowardice; yet, it must be re-

administration. But, to avoid the odium of protecting a man who had been hanged in effigy in every town in England, they wanted the king to pardon him without their seeming to interfere—agreeably to the practice of most ministers, who take all merit to themselves when measures are approved of, and load their master with those acts of prerogative which are most unpopular.”

marked that a man of the greatest personal bravery may be capable of hesitation, over-caution, and a misgiving timidity in a great and difficult situation like that in which Byng was placed. His crime was, that *he* was not, what the ministry had taken him for, as great a man as his father.* His behaviour, after he knew that his doom was inevitable, was manly and firm in the highest degree. A few days before his execution, one of his friends standing up by his side, said, "Which of us is the taller?" Byng replied, "Why this ceremony? I know what it means; let the man come in and measure me for my coffin." He declared that, being acquitted of cowardice, and being persuaded he had acted for the best, he was not unwilling to die. On Monday morning, the 14th of March, the *Monarque*, his prison-ship, was surrounded by the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead and the ships of war in Portsmouth harbour; all manned and armed, and with an infinite number of other boats crowded with people, all anxious to catch a glimpse of so rare a spectacle as the execution of a British admiral. Byng desired as a favour that he might be shot on the quarter-deck, took leave of a clergyman and two friends who stayed with him to the last, and at the hour of noon walked out of the cabin with a firm deliberate step and sat down in a chair, in front of the two files of marines who were to shoot him; for he would not kneel. He refused to have his face covered, saying that his countenance should show whether he feared death. But, upon its being represented that his looks might unnerve the marines and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to tie a white handkerchief over his eyes.

He gave the signal by throwing his hat upon the deck, and in the next instant he received a bullet through the

* Horace Walpole says that people believed him to be a real "Mediterranean Byng"—a name given to his father, Lord Torrington, after his exploits off Sicily and the coast of Spain—and were transported with indescribable rage when they found out their mistake.—*Letters to Horace Mann*.

head, another through the heart, three others in different parts of his body, and fell dead. The time from his walking out of his cabin to his being deposited in his coffin did not exceed three minutes.*

The old king's aversion to Pitt and to Lord Temple took a more decided turn after this tragical transaction, and the death of Byng hurried on their expulsion from office. Other causes, however, contributed to this new change of ministers. The Duke of Newcastle, still formidable from his numerous and old connexions, from his control of boroughs, and from a half superstitious belief that one who had been thirty years a minister must be a minister again, and have the good things of the church and state at his disposal, was planning and manœuvring with great activity; and the Duke of Cumberland, who had been appointed to command the allied army assembled for the protection of Hanover, positively refused to go while Pitt and his friends remained in office. Pitt, suffering or pretending to suffer from the gout, met the king as seldom as possible, and when he made his appearance behaved with proper respect; but Temple, who had no gout to plead, was frequent in his attendance, and was accused by the king of pert familiarity. In the month of February, Lord Waldegrave, who had quitted the service of the Prince of Wales on the promotion of Lord Bute, had a long conversation with the king, whose confidence he enjoyed to an extraordinary degree. "His Majesty," says his lordship, "*then* expressed his dislike to Pitt and Lord Temple in very strong terms; the substance of which was, that the secretary made him long speeches, which possibly might be very fine, but were greatly beyond his comprehension; and that his letters were affected, formal, and pedantic: that as to Temple, he was so disagreeable a fellow, there was no bearing him; that when he attempted to argue he was pert, and

* Walpole's Memoirs of George II. and Letters to Horace Mann.—Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs.—Smollet.—Sir John Barrow's Life of Lord Anson.

sometimes insolent; that when he meant to be civil he was exceedingly troublesome; and that in the business of his office he was totally ignorant.”*

The king next questioned Waldegrave concerning old Newcastle. His lordship answered, that, though his grace was no longer a minister, it was evident that a great party in both Houses of Parliament still considered him as their chief. The king charged Waldegrave to go and encourage his grace. “Tell him,” said the plain-speaking and irascible George, “I do not look upon myself as king, whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels; that I am determined to get rid of them at any rate; that I expect his assistance; and that he may depend on my favour and protection.” Waldegrave had several conferences with the Duke of Newcastle, whom he found eager and impatient to come into office, but fearful of the danger. He said that it was not yet the proper time—that they must wait till the supplies were granted, the Byng affair ended, and the late cabinet excused or acquitted; and that then Pitt and his followers might be set at defiance. When Waldegrave reported this answer to the king the old sovereign exclaimed, “Neither the Duke of Newcastle nor yourself are judges of what I feel: I can endure their insolence no longer.” He desired his lordship to speak to Newcastle again; but as the king grew more determined his grace grew more irresolute. Thus time was consumed and the Duke of Cumberland’s impatience made unmanageable. His royal highness pressed very strongly that at least Pitt and Lord Temple might be turned out without further deliberation. Cumberland and Fox were then desired to draw up a plan of administration; but they found they were powerless

* Lord Waldegrave also says, “The king, who had a quick conception, and did not like to be kept long in suspense, expected that those who talked to him on business should use no superfluous arguments, but should come at once to the point; whilst Pitt and Lord Temple, *who were orators even in familiar conversation*, endeavoured to guide his majesty’s passions, and to convince his judgment according to the rules of rhetoric.”

without Newcastle. After various and tedious negotiations the king lost all patience, and absolutely commanded Fox to form a plan of administration in concert with the Duke of Cumberland. Fox drew up a hopeless plan, taking care, however, not to neglect the desperate chance of promoting his own pecuniary interests. Those to whom Fox applied excused themselves. Lord Halifax would not accept unless the Duke of Newcastle would promise to support him. Lord Strange kept away in the country. Charles Townshend was found to be furious against Pitt and his mean employment; but he recollected that old George was seventy-three, and young George nineteen, and of a promising constitution, and he therefore did not think it advisable to undertake the defence of an old king, or to be connected with unpopular associates who might bar his future progress. In short, Bubb Dodington was the only man ready to engage. It was now the end of March, and Cumberland, who ought to have been in the field, still refused to go until at least Pitt and Temple were turned out. The perplexed old king then sent to the Earl of Winchelsea, who had held the same office in Lord Granville's administration, and made him an offer of the admiralty. Winchelsea, "with most unfashionable readiness," accepted; and then it was notified to Lord Temple that his services were no longer required. It was imagined that his brother-in-law, Pitt, would immediately have resigned; but Pitt "did not choose to save his enemies any trouble, and attended to his duty with unusual assiduity." But time pressed; the day appointed for the Duke of Cumberland's departure arrived; and so, about a week after Temple's dismissal, Pitt was told he must go also. This was followed by Legge's resigning the chancellorship of the exchequer, and by some other resignations. But though the king had thus got rid of the Pittites, he had not been able to accomplish any arrangements to replace them; and now hardly knew where to look for ministers. From the cabinet Pitt again stepped to the very apex of popularity, and freedoms of corporations in rich gold snuff-boxes were liberally showered upon him and his

friend Legge. This made those who were timid before still more timid, and increased the difficulties of the king. The Duke of Devonshire, avowedly out of compassion to his majesty, remained at the head of the treasury till a successor should be named: but he was anxious to be gone, and no successor could be found! Lord Waldegrave, the only man on whom George really relied, was again employed to look out for ministers. At last, when everybody had refused, and when the Duke of Cumberland had gone over to Hanover, the Duke of Newcastle became more courageous, and seemed willing to undertake a new ministry. He demanded permission to treat with whomsoever he pleased; the king found himself compelled to give him a kind of tacit permission. His grace was soon obliged to tell the king that there could be no cabinet without Pitt. His majesty then once more, and most unwillingly, consented that Pitt and his friends should be treated with; the duke having first pledged his word that in case they continued unreasonable, he would perform his part and undertake the conduct of affairs without them. The duke, being joined by the ex-chancellor Hardwicke, had several conferences with Pitt and Lord Bute, settled articles of peace and amity, and carried a new plan of administration to the king for his assent.* It was now the month of June and the country had been nearly two months without a ministry. Yet his majesty in casting his eye over the joint scheme of Newcastle, Hardwicke, Pitt, and Bute, cut the affair short, and at once rejected their proposals; for Fox, who was hated by the Leicester House party and feared by Newcastle, was not to be paymaster—Lord Temple, who was detested by the king, was to have a cabinet employment—and, what was sorest of all, Lord Winchelsea, who had so recently accepted the admiralty to oblige his majesty when all others kept aloof, was to be unceremoniously dismissed. The Duke of Newcastle endeavoured in vain to make his majesty indifferent to the sense of gratitude and the shame of promise-

* Lord Waldegrave.

breaking; and then shamelessly broke his own promise to the king by refusing to take part in any administration, unless he had the cordial assistance of Pitt and Leicester House. This was on the seventh of June. On the morning of the 8th the Duke of Devonshire and the Duke of Bedford and Lord Granville went separately into the royal closet, and when they came out they spoke with Lord Waldegrave, saying that the king's situation was pitiable, that this was no time for his friends to consult their own ease. This was a prelude to a demand which startled Waldegrave, though the king had more than hinted at it some weeks before. He was summoned into the closet, where his majesty told him that the Duke of Newcastle had proved himself equally false and ungrateful; that few princes had ever been treated so scandalously; but that it was in his (Lord Waldegrave's) power to disengage him from all his difficulties, by taking the lead in a ministry as first commissioner of the treasury. George poured out a torrent of words, and would hear of no excuses of want of experience or want of abilities; and Waldegrave, *nolens volens*, found himself prime minister of Great Britain! But his lordship's prediction was soon verified, that he would find few followers. That morning the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Winchelsea, Lord Granville, who had plucked up some of his old spirit, and Mr. Fox, promised to stand by him in the cabinet and support him in parliament; but in the evening, when Waldegrave went with Devonshire to meet Fox at Holland House, he found him wholly changed since the morning and full of doubts and apprehensions.

The king himself was affected by Fox's despondency, and complained bitterly that almost everybody was abandoning him. And thus the whole system broke down, leaving the old king prostrate at the feet of Pitt! His majesty summoned Murray, now Lord Chief Justice and Baron Mansfield, and gave him full power to negotiate with Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle on their own terms, insisting only that Temple should have no employment which required a frequent attendance in the closet;

and, as a *sine quâ non*, that Fox should be paymaster, because he had pledged his word that he should. It appears to us that in all the proceedings the old king behaved with far more honour and candour than any of them, Lord Waldegrave and Lord Winchelsea only excepted. According to Horace Walpole, the old man complained that they were doing everything by and for Leicester House; that they were making his grandson king in his lifetime, and constituting him a prisoner for the rest of his life. The negotiations, however, proceeded, and being, through some mistrust and jealousy, taken out of the hands of Lord Mansfield, they were entrusted to the Earl of Hardwicke, who concluded them in about a fortnight. The substance of the treaty was, that the Duke of Newcastle should be first commissioner of the treasury, without having one man at the board that really belonged to him; that Pitt, with a voice doubly potential, should be again secretary of state, with Lord Holderness for his colleague or subaltern; that Lord Granville, whom Pitt had stigmatised as "*the Hanoverian minister*," "*the flagitious taskmaster*," should again be president of the council; Lord Temple, privy seal, in the room of Lord Gower, who was to be master of the horse, in the room of the Duke of Dorset, who was to have a large pension, under the name of additional salary annexed to his place of warden of the cinque ports: the attorney-general, Sir Robert Henley, afterwards Lord Nottingham, was to have the great seal, not as chancellor, but as lord keeper, with a pension, and a good reversion for his son; and Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, was to take Henley's place of attorney-general. The royal promise to Fox was kept, for he was set down for the profitable place of paymaster; and Potter, who had been holding half that office, was to be made one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Cholmondeley, who was to be gratified with a considerable pension on the *Irish establishment*—a source seldom overlooked when jobbing placemen or court favourites were to be gratified or kept quiet. The INTER-MINISTERIUM now ceased, after lasting more than eleven weeks.

Pitt's re-appointment was formally announced in the Gazette on the 29th of June; and all the set kissed hands. "Men," says Walpole, "could not but smile, observing Pitt return to court, the moment he had been made free of so many cities for quitting it, exactly as he had accepted an employment there before old Marlborough was scarce cold, who had left him 10,000*l.* as a reward for his patriotism." *

The great orator was scarcely repossessed of the seals ere he confirmed the opinion of Lord Waldegrave—that he would go farther than any man. He opened a secret project to Sir Benjamin Keene, our ambassador at Madrid, for ceding Gibraltar to Spain, in exchange for Minorca, and on condition of Spain joining England in the war against France; and he intimated that satisfaction should be given to the Spanish court touching the establishments made by English subjects on the Mosquito shore and in the Bay of Honduras since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and that all establishments so made should be evacuated.† When our veteran and able diplomatist read the despatch he threw his cap on the ground, and exclaimed, "Are they mad on the other side of the water? What can they mean?"‡ And, in truth, Pitt's offer savoured of insanity. Because the popular clamour exaggerated the importance of Minorca, a place difficult for us to defend, this dashing secretary of state proposed giving up Gibraltar, a place almost impossible for any enemy to take, and the importance of which could not be exaggerated; or, because he wanted to strengthen the arms of his majesty's allies on the Continent, and secure Hanover, he was ready to make a sacrifice which would have transported the English people with ten times more rage than the loss of Minorca had

* Memoirs, George II.

† Letter from Secretary Pitt to Sir Benjamin Keene, in Archdeacon Coxe's Memoirs of the Kings of Spain. The archdeacon was informed by Mr. James Rivers, under secretary of state, that Pitt dictated this most secret and confidential letter with peculiar solicitude, and employed three days in its composition.

‡ Id.

done. But, luckily for Pitt, not even the offer of so precious an object as Gibraltar could tempt Ferdinand VI. to break his neutrality and to engage in a war with France; and the secret negotiation ended in nothing except in contributing to hasten the death of the excellent Sir Benjamin Keene.

Nor were Pitt's first warlike schemes either well conceived or attended with success. They centered in one of those descents on the coast of France which had so often failed, and which, notwithstanding the failures, were so lamentably persevered in both by Pitt and his son. In this inglorious expedition to Rochfort, there were two heroes, Captain Howe, the king's nephew by an illegitimate source, and Colonel Wolfe. "The world," says Walpole, "could not expect more from Wolfe than he thought himself capable of performing: he looked on danger as the favourable moment that would call forth his talents. . . . Howe was undaunted as a rock, and as silent—the characteristics of his whole race. He and Wolfe soon contracted a friendship like the union of cannon and gunpowder."*

Before this failure the Duke of Cumberland, with an army of Hanoverian and confederate troops, amounting to 50,000 men, had been foiled, beaten, driven from the banks of the Rhine, the Weser, and Hanover, by the French under Marshal D'Etrée, pushed into a corner between the river Elbe and the German Ocean, and led to sign a most disgraceful capitulation, memorable in history by the name of the Convention of Closter-Severn. By this convention, signed on the 7th of September, the Electorate of Hanover was left in the hands of the French till peace should be concluded between them and the English; and the Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers were dispersed into different and distant cantonments under the obligation of not taking up arms again during the war. Frederick, who had been defeated by Count Daun and the Austrians in the terrible battle of Kolin, was now left alone to defend his frontiers from

* Memoirs of George II.

French, Austrians, Russians, and Swedes. General Haddick, with a detachment from the great Austrian army in Lusatia, made a dash at Berlin, and laid Frederick's unfortunate capital under contribution; but Haddick was presently obliged to retreat more rapidly than he had advanced. General Apraxin, who had crossed the eastern frontier with more than 100,000 Russians, got such a lesson from Marshal Lehwald and 22,000 Prussians, who attacked him in his camp at Jägerndorff, that he evacuated Prussia with the exception of the fortress of Memel. And immediately after this Marshal Lehwald and General Manteufel drove the Swedes like a herd of cattle out of Prussian Pomerania, taking 3000 of them prisoners. Acting at once upon the offensive and defensive, Frederick proceeded in person against a united army of France and the Empire, which was encamped on the bank of the river Saale, under the command of Marshal Soubise and the Prince of Hildbourghausen, leaving the Duke of Bevern to watch Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marshal Keith to face another Austrian army under Nadasti. At the approach of Frederick, Soubise and Hildbourghausen beat a retreat. They fell back to Eisenach—Frederick followed them—and then they broke away for Erfurt and Gotha, with the Prussians still close behind them. But Frederick was recalled from his pursuit by learning that Bevern and Keith were in difficulties. After a variety of most brilliant manœuvres, he rescued Keith at Leipsic; then, on the 3rd of November, with an army of only 20,000 men, he crossed the Saale, and on the 5th of the same month fought and won the wonderful battle of Rossbach. Immediately after this splendid victory the Hanoverians and Hessians resumed their arms in spite of the Convention of Closter-Severn: it was alleged that the cruelties and extortions exercised by the French and the Duke of Richelieu, the inglorious conqueror of Minorca, upon the electorate, provoked this infraction of the usages of war and the faith of treaties. The conduct of the French in Hanover was indeed execrable; yet it is pretty certain that but for the battle of Rossbach the con-

vention would have been observed at least a little longer. At the desire of his English majesty Frederick sent Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of his best generals, to take the command of his forces, and also detached his brother Henry with 15,000 Prussian veterans to co-operate with the Hanoverians and Hessians. A series of actions took place, and in every one of them the Hanoverian troops behaved admirably, and were successful. They drove the French marauders from Lunenberg and from Zell; and they recovered a great part of Brunswick. The Duke of Richelieu took up his head-quarters at Hanover; but he was driven thence in the end of November, and he soon afterwards left the army in disgust. The Count of Clermont, a prince of the blood, then came from Paris to take the command.* Clermont was driven from post to post—forced to cross the Weser, and by the end of the year, the Rhine. Prince Henry of Prussia, after assisting the Hanoverians to drive the French out of Hanover, returned to Dresden to defend Saxony against the Austrians and the army of the empire. "This time," said Frederick, "we must not talk of winter-quarters—our operas and balls must be in the field." He was now in Silesia, where Prince Charles of Lorraine and General Nadasti had been taking a town or two and gaining the battle of Breslau over the Duke of Bevern and the Prussians. But, in less than a fortnight, Frederick restored his affairs by gaining the great victory of Lissa. This tremendous battle, fought on the 5th of December, was even more decisive and remarkable than that of Rossbach; for Frederick with 30,000 men defeated an army of 90,000 Austrians and Imperialists, took 24,000 prisoners on the field, 15,000 on the retreat, and 17,000 in the neighbouring city of Breslau, which was forced to surrender after a very short siege. It was in contemplating all this military genius, and all this astonishing success, that Pitt was led to exclaim, "that America was to be conquered through Germany!"—meaning thereby,

* Archenholz, *Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.*

that, while Frederick was occupying France and her allies, the English might obtain possession of the Canadas and of everything belonging to the French in the western world.

After General Braddock's defeat, Pitt had devised a bold plan for securing North America: reinforcements had been sent from England, a regiment had been raised consisting of four battalions of German Protestants, and Lord Loudon was appointed commander-in-chief. Loudon, though reinforced, achieved little or nothing, and he returned to England at the end of the year. But in the East Indies the tide of victory had been turned in our favour by the activity, daring, and military genius of Clive, who had begun his extraordinary career in the East as early as 1748, when, as a mere stripling fresh from the writer's desk, he out-generaled the veteran commanders of the French. By this time the English and French had extended their fierce contest to all the four quarters of the globe; for they were fighting in Europe, America, Asia, and Africa.

The Duke of Cumberland returned to England in October, about a month after signing the disgraceful convention of Closter-Severn, which the king, his father, disavowed before the Hanoverians took up arms again. If any doubt remained upon the mind of George, he apparently thought he should clear himself from the dishonour of infringing the convention of Closter-Severn by disavowing his son's authority, which he constantly did. The Duke of Cumberland, on his side, thought he would escape all odium by resigning his commands, which he did as soon as he returned to England. According to Horace Walpole, old George welcomed him with the words—"Here is my son, who has ruined me, and disgraced himself."

The English Parliament opened on the 1st of December. Pitt spoke with transport of our successes in the East, and called Clive "*that heaven-born general*." He also panegyrised his Prussian majesty; and his eloquence, and the enthusiasm both of parliament and

people, procured, as if by acclamation, the passing of a subsidy of 607,000*l.* per annum to enable Frederick to carry on the war.

A.D. 1758.—In the course of this Session Lord George Sackville, whose interest with Pitt was great, distinguished himself by his abilities in the House of Commons, and seemed to be on the fair road to a high post in the government and the first rank in the army. “Unfortunately,” says Horace Walpole, “Pitt’s mind was not yet purged of its vision of Rochfort, and he again chose the coast of France for the scene of his romance.” A mighty fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, thirteen frigates, three sloops, four fire-ships, and two bomb-ketches, and carrying an army of 14,000 men and 6000 marines, set sail on the 1st of June for the French coast, where they were to do something which was to be of the greatest moment, but which was not very clearly defined. The Duke of Marlborough, who was personally brave, but without experience, without military knowledge, with nothing of the great general but the name he had inherited, was appointed to the chief command of the land-forces, with Lord George Sackville and Lord Granby under him. The silent, stern, and heroic Howe was appointed to the command of the fleet: but, upon this, his senior, Sir Edward Hawke, struck his flag, and refused to serve. This quarrel was appeased by Lord Anson’s taking the command himself. On the 5th of June, Howe, heading and leading the transports, anchored in the Bay of Cancele, near St. Maloes. Howe presently knocked a coast battery about the ears of the French, and then the troops were landed without opposition: but the generals soon found that the town of St. Maloes was so strongly situated and so well fortified that it could not be carried by assault. Here, it is said, that the soldiers observed that Lord George Sackville was shy in courting danger; “and Howe, *who never made a friendship but at the cannon’s mouth*, conceived and expressed a strong aversion to him.” After burning a parcel of small vessels, generals and men returned to their shipping; “and the French learned that

they were not to be conquered by every Duke of Marlborough." The duke embarked in some haste, for he left his tea-spoons behind him; and these were sent home in a cartel-ship by the Duke d'Aiguillon, "politely to mark contempt." Howe led the transports through a storm back to Portsmouth, whence the Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville, heartily sick of the sea, repaired to take the command of our troops in Germany;* for, notwithstanding Pitt's phrases and declarations, we had sent a small army to that part of the Continent to defend Hanover, and co-operate with the King of Prussia. The old king's prediction that the Rochfort affair would be a failure, was amply verified; but still Pitt resolved that the experiment on the French coast should be repeated by the same force which had just failed, and which was now much lessened, as Anson and Hawke had not returned, and as part of the troops were withdrawn to be sent into Germany. This time the command of the land forces was given to General Bligh, a very old cavalry officer; and Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer with his blood-relative Howe. They sailed from St. Helen's on the 1st of August, anchored in the Bay of Cherbourg on the 7th, and put out their boats on the 8th; when the troops were landed under a loose fire, which the French soon gave up. They then entered the town of Cherbourg without opposition, and began to plunder and ill use the inhabitants. On the following morning Bligh set his men to work upon the dock-yard, basin, and forts, upon which the French government had spent large sums; and they were soon destroyed and made useless. While this work was doing, parties of English light horse scoured the country to the distance of some four leagues, and had several little skirmishes with the French troops who were waiting in

* "Lord George Sackville said he would no longer go *buccaneering*; the king refused to let him go to Germany, but his majesty was obliged to *summit*."—*Dodington's Diary*.

the neighbourhood for reinforcements. As soon as intelligence reached Bligh that these reinforcements were coming, he levied about 3000*l.* sterling upon the unfortunate town, carried off some brass cannons and mortars, which were afterwards exhibited for a few days in Hyde Park as trophies of victory, re-embarked his men and sailed back to the English coast. But in about a fortnight Bligh returned to St. Maloes to make another attempt there. The landing of the troops was beautifully performed under the eye of Howe, but we cannot possibly discover what it was intended the men should do when landed. Bligh marched and counter-marched, skirmished, and encamped. The autumnal gales blew Howe off the coast; so that when a retreat before a far superior French army became inevitable, he could render no assistance to Bligh, whose rear guard, consisting of 1500 men, was entirely sacrificed, together with General Dury, who commanded it.

It was well for Pitt's popularity that the fleet and army in America began to furnish better materials for his gazettes. He had wisely appreciated the genius and daring of Wolfe, had procured his promotion, and sent him across the Atlantic. General Amherst, with Wolfe and 14,000 men, embarked with Admiral Boscawen for Cape Breton. Boscawen destroyed five French men-of-war that lay to cover Louisburgh, took five French frigates, and landed the troops, who by the 27th of July made themselves masters of the whole island. General Abercrombie, who undertook the reduction of all the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain, was repulsed with the loss of 800 men at Ticonderago; but Brigadier Forbes and Colonel Bradstreet, whom Abercrombie had detached for those services, took Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, and Fort Frontenac on the northern bank of the St. Laurence, at the point where that river issues from Lake Ontario. Although there remained much to do, it was evident the tables were completely turned, and that the French, instead of driving us out of Nova Scotia, would themselves be driven out of the Canadas.

In the meanwhile our good ally Frederick was again fighting against armies of Austrians, Imperialists, Russians, Swedes, and French, and was not allowed to go into quarters at all. In the depth of winter Count Fermor, with 100,000 Russians, burst into Prussia, took many towns, and forced the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the Czarina Elizabeth. But this did not prevent Frederick from prosecuting to a successful end the siege of Schweidnitz, and undertaking the siege of Ollmutz, in Moravia, which had been the principal station for provisioning and arming the Austrian forces. Marshal Daun advanced with a large army to the relief of Ollmutz, and then, leaving a part of his army to cover Silesia, Frederick marched off with 20,000 men to make head against the Russians, who were bombarding his good town of Custrin. After an extraordinary march, and a still more extraordinary battle, which lasted from nine in the morning till seven at night, he obliged "that savage and undaunted people" to retire. From this great battle of Custrin, or Zorndorf, as it is more generally called, Frederick marched away for Saxony, where his brother, Prince Henry, had been driven, by the Imperialists and Austrians back upon Dresden; but on his way he was unexpectedly met by Marshal Daun, who defeated him in the battle of Hochkirehen, where Frederick lost nearly all his artillery, 5500 men, and one of the best of his generals, the brave Scottish veteran and exile Marshal Keith, who fell mortally wounded in the arms of an English volunteer. After keeping his ground for several days in the face of Daun, who did not venture upon a second attack, Frederick went away with a grin and a sneer, saying that the game was not yet lost—that Daun did not know how to play his cards! And in a brief space of time he compelled the Austrians and Imperialists to abandon all their sieges, to clear out of Saxony, Silesia, and Pomerania, and retire for winter-quarters into their own territories. And Frederick's much-esteemed general, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, with the Hanoverians and Hessians, seemed almost as successful upon the Rhine. On the

14th of August, the prince was joined by the Duke of Marlborough and the English auxiliaries, who amounted to about 12,000 men. But these English troops had scarcely taken the field when an epidemic disorder broke out among them, which thinned their numbers and carried off the Duke of Marlborough. The command then devolved to the incapable and imperious Lord George Sackville, who thought it unworthy of an English lord to submit to the commands of a German prince. It appears that quarrels between them began immediately, and that the gallant and good-natured Lord Granby, after attempting in vain to moderate the pride of Lord George Sackville, sided with Prince Ferdinand. In spite, however, of these dissensions the Prince of Soubise was well beaten and driven out of Hesse.*

Parliament re-assembled on the 23rd of November, when Pitt told them that the war must be carried on with increased vigour, and that, as war was now more expensive than in former times, additional millions must be raised. The addresses of both Houses justified and panegyrised the conduct of ministers; not a word was said about this being a war for the defence of Hanover—but our conquests in America were upheld as worth the money we were spending. In the heat of this enthusiasm an army of 95,000 British troops and 7000 foreigners was voted, and about 12,000,000*l.* was raised for the service of the ensuing year.

A.D. 1759.—New taxes were called for to support our conquests and military glory. Duties were laid upon sugar and other dry goods. Pitt thought that a tax upon hops would be better than a duty upon sugar—that a tax upon wine or linen would be preferable to that upon dry goods—but, that the best thing of all would be a bill of general excise, like that proposed by Sir Robert Walpole, which Pitt had vehemently opposed at the time, losing his cornetcy of horse for his opposition.

* Archenholz.—Voltaire.—Frederick's own Account of the Seven Years' War.—Lord Dover, Life of Frederick.—Walpole, Memoirs and Letters.

While the head of Pitt was filled with splendid schemes of foreign conquests, a message was received from the king, importing that his majesty desired to be enabled to collect the militia and march them out of their several counties, as he apprehended the French intended an invasion. And, in fact, there had been for some time a great stir and a show of preparation all along the French coast—a gathering of flat-bottomed boats, &c. Our militia were called, and our 24,000 and odd prisoners of war were marched up into the interior of the island and put under the guard of our militia-men. To meet and dissipate the apprehended storm before it should reach our shores, Admiral Rodney was despatched to the French coasts. He bombarded Havre-de-Grace, set fire to the town in several places, and, at an enormous expense to the English, did considerable damage to the French. Admiral Boscawen failed in an attack in the outer harbour of Toulon. The commander of the Toulon fleet, M. de la Clue, whose object it was to get out into the ocean and join the Brest fleet under M. Conflans, thinking the opportunity favourable, slid down the Mediterranean soon after Boscawen's departure from Toulon. He was not wholly deceived in his calculations—he got through the straits of Gibraltar—but Boscawen watched and followed, and fell upon him off Cape Lagos, in Portugal. De la Clue, after fighting very gallantly, was mortally wounded; his ship, esteemed the finest in the French navy, and three other first-rate ships, struck to Boscawen, and a fifth was driven on shore and burnt. This battle was fought on the 18th of August. On the 20th of November Sir Edward Hawke, who had been driven from the coast he had been blockading, returned to the neighbourhood of Brest, and found that M. Conflans had stolen out with his fleet, and was then near at hand in Quiberon Bay. It blew a storm at the time, yet Hawke, disregarding the dangers of a lee-shore, off a coast roughened with rocks and sand-banks, and covered with a hostile and brave population, went at once to the attack, even before half his ships had joined him. The English had twenty-three ships in all, the

French only twenty-one ; but many of the English did not come up in time to engage ; and what was of still greater advantage to the French, they were sheltered among the rocks and banks, and the English, in a gale of wind, had to go through narrow and most dangerous passes in order to attack them. Commodore Howe, now, by the death of his elder brother, who had been slain in America, Lord Howe, attacked the great French ship the 'Formidable,' with fury, and came so close to her in a trough of that stormy sea, that her prow struck his ship's waist and drove in the lower tier of guns. The thick darkness of a November night fell upon this scene of horror, and slackened the fire of the English, whose guns had been out-roaring the elements. Confians' own ship and another were driven on shore and burnt ; two more were sunk, one was taken, and another struck her colours, but afterwards got off, as the storm prevented the English sailors taking possession of her. Two of our ships were lost in the storm, but the crews were saved. It is said that not above eight or ten of our ships were *actually* engaged in obtaining this decisive victory, which, for a time, put an end to the navy and the hopes of France, and to all English apprehensions of invasion.

But the great harvest of laurels this year was in those lands "that see the Atlantic wave their morn restore." The Canadas had been left open to attack the year before, and the defeated, impoverished, bankrupt Louis XV. had not been able to succour them. The time was come for executing Pitt's great scheme ; and he had now wisely insisted that the execution of it should be entrusted to a hero. The king, who thought only of antiquity and seniority in the service, selected old Hopson, who may have been a very respectable jog-trot veteran, though he had certainly never done anything to distinguish himself as a general. Pitt, who would have his own way, put forward Wolfe, now a lieutenant-general of his own promoting ; and never was a choice more fortunate to a minister, though it sent his admired soldier to an early grave.

The military scheme, after being subjected to various

alterations, was finally arranged thus:—Wolfe was to advance with a part of our forces, and seize Quebec, the capital of the French provinces; General Amherst, with a second division, was to occupy Crown Point, reduce Fort Ticonderago, then cross Lake Champlain, fall down the St. Lawrence, and join Wolfe under the walls of Quebec; while General Prideaux, with a third division, and a considerable body of wild Indians, was to invest Niagara, then embark on Lake Ontario, besiege and carry Montreal, and then form his junction with Wolfe and Amherst under the capital. These combined movements had generally failed even when natural obstacles were far less numerous, and the distances to be traversed by the different corps far shorter; and when Wolfe got near to Quebec he found himself alone with the division he had brought. Amherst had, indeed, carried Crown Point and Ticonderago, and Prideaux had made himself master of Niagara; but there they stopped. No blame, we believe, attaches either to Amherst or Prideaux, who were checked by a variety of circumstances and difficulties, some of which, at least, ought to have been foreseen and provided for by those who planned the campaign. Nor does the honour of Wolfe at all rest on his being the first at the place of rendezvous; for he was carried by sea, and then up the St. Lawrence by Admiral Sanders, whose ships and seamen remained to co-operate. About the last day of June, Wolfe disembarked his troops upon the large and fertile Isle of Orleans, a little below Quebec. Here he erected some batteries, which Montcalm, the French general, vainly attempted to prevent by throwing a strong detachment across the river. Wolfe also prepared a military hospital and works to secure his stores. He attempted to reconcile the Canadians on the island by friendly proclamations; but those rough people joined scalping parties of wild Indians that were sculking among the woods, and butchered all the English stragglers they could surprise. While the fleet lay at the Isle of Orleans it was exposed to great danger; and if once the fleet had been destroyed, or even driven from its post, nothing would have remained for Wolfe but a surrender. The

troops were scarcely landed when a terrible storm blew down the river, driving several of their large ships from their anchors, and making the transports run foul of one another. Some of the smaller craft foundered, and a considerable number of boats swamped. While they were in this confusion the enemy sent down from Quebec seven fire-ships, which made for the thickest part of our shipping; but the British sailors grappled these fire-ships, towed them away to the banks, and left them fast aground, where they lay burning to the water's edge without doing any mischief. Quebec by this time was strongly fortified, and its natural situation always rendered it formidable to an assailant; for it stands on a steep rock at the confluence of the St. Charles and St. Lawrence, and these rivers, rocks, and ravines, render it inaccessible on three of its sides. Montcalm, as brave an officer as Wolfe, covered the town with 10,000 men, having posted himself on the left bank of the St. Charles, with encampments extending as far as the river Montmorenci, and with entrenchments thrown up at every accessible place. With an inferior force Wolfe resolved to attack Montcalm in this position. On the 9th of July, at night, he crossed the north channel of the St. Lawrence, and encamped near Montcalm's left, the river Montmorenci being between them. On the following morning, a company of rangers which he threw out were almost annihilated, in a wood, by a body of wild Indians. He carefully examined the course of the Montmorenci, and found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the opposite bank was entrenched, and steep and woody, and he gave up the idea of crossing there. His escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who, though repulsed, killed or wounded some forty men. On the 18th of July, two English men-of-war, two armed sloops, and two transports, with troops on board, passed by the town of Quebec, and got into what is called the Upper River, and close to Wolfe's encampment on the Montmorenci. With the assistance of these ships, which had got into the Upper River, Wolfe reconnoitred the banks, and threw Colonel Carleton on shore, with a detachment, to make

a diversion, and tempt Montcalm, or part of his forces, out of their entrenchments. But the French general stayed where he was, kept his men in their strong posts, and left Wolfe to seek an avenue to attack him. At last, on the 31st of July, Wolfe attacked Montcalm in his entrenchments: leaving Brigadier Townshend to ford the Montmorenci, and attack in flank, he, with the help of the ships and the fleet's boats, threw himself on the beach, and attacked in front. The Centurion ship of war was so placed as to check the fire of the French battery, which commanded the ford of the Montmorenci; and two transports drawing little water were furnished with guns, and sent close in shore to cover the place which Wolfe had selected for his landing; but these two vessels could not get near enough to be of much use—a number of boats filled with soldiers grounded upon a ledge of rocks,—time was lost in getting them off,—and Wolfe was obliged to send an officer to stop Townshend, who was crossing the ford. The French, meanwhile, had crowded their artillery on the point menaced, which was a rising ground beyond the river bank; and, galled by their fire, the English grenadiers, as soon as they were landed, rushed tumultuously up towards the entrenchments, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them and join in the attack. Indeed, Townshend, though upon his march in very good order, was still at some distance, and Brigadier Monckton had not got his men out of the boats. The grenadiers were met in the teeth by a fire too terrible for the bravest of them, and they fell back in confusion after sustaining a great loss. Still further deterred by the approach of night, and the ominous roaring of the St. Lawrence—for the mighty tide was retiring and a storm was setting in—Wolfe gave up his attack and withdrew his men. His situation seemed growing desperate, and his health began to fail him. In his letter to Pitt, which was written from his head-quarters at Montmorenci on the 2nd of September, more than a month after this failure, he confessed that he had descended to the dubiousness and despondency of consulting a council of war. When this letter reached England, it excited consterna-

tion and anger. Pitt feared that he had been mistaken in his favourite general, and that the next news would be, either that he had been destroyed or had capitulated. But in the conclusion of his melancholy epistle, Wolfe had said he would do his best—and that best turned out a miracle in war. He declared that he would rather die than be brought to a court-martial for miscarrying, and, in conjunction with Admiral Saunders, he concerted a plan for scaling the heights of Abraham, and gaining possession of the elevated plateau at the back of Quebec, on the side where the fortifications were the weakest, as the French engineers had trusted to the precipices and the river beneath. In order to deceive the enemy, the admiral sailed some three or four leagues higher up the river, lay there as if intent on other business, and then, on the night of the 12th of September, glided down the river and put out all his boats to land the troops under the heights of Abraham. Through the darkness of the night and the skill and caution of the seamen, the French sentinels posted along the banks of the river, and even close to the narrow ledge of rocks selected for the disembarkation, were all passed without notice or alarm given, and the English soldiers were landed by boatfuls at a time. The first that were landed were some Highlanders, who began to climb the steep face of the rocks, using their hands more than their feet, and grasping at every bush and bough, or projection, that could facilitate their ascent. The Highlanders were followed in the same manner by the English light-infantry, and those by the line. There was a French guard over their heads, and hearing a rustling noise, but seeing nothing, these fellows fired down the precipice at random. Our men then fired up into the air, and also at random; but, terrified at so strange and unexpected an attempt, the French picquet ran off, all but the captain, who was wounded and taken prisoner, and who begged our officers to sign a certificate of his courage, lest he should be punished as corrupted, believing that Wolfe's bold enterprise would be deemed impossible without corruption. That general now stood on the heights of Abraham; but he had no artillery with

him, and excessive fatigue and disease, the French, and the wild Indians, had reduced his army to less than 5000 men. His light-infantry, however, seized four guns which the French had placed in battery, and the English seamen made shift to hawl up one gun from the landing-place. On the other side, Montcalm came on in too great a hurry to allow the French to bring their artillery with them, and they brought no more than two small field-pieces. At first the French general could hardly credit the evidence of his senses—so impossible did it seem for an army to ascend those dangerous cliffs—at last he said, “I see them where they ought not to be; but, since we must fight, I will go and crush them.” Quitting his entrenchments, he advanced with confident haste to the heights of Abraham, where Wolfe had formed his little army in order of battle, within long cannon-shot of the outworks of Quebec. After lining the bushes with detachments of Indians, the French and Canadians advanced to the charge in good order, and with great vivacity; but they opened an irregular fire before they got within musket-range. The English reserved their fire until the enemy were within a few yards of their front; and then they poured in a terrible discharge. This first volley was succeeded by a most steady and deliberate fire, and, in less than half an hour, the French began to waver. But as Wolfe stood conspicuous in the front line cheering his men, a musket-ball struck his wrist. He wrapped a handkerchief round the wound, continued giving his orders, and soon put himself at the head of his grenadiers, who had fixed their bayonets for the charge: he was hit by a second ball in the upper part of the abdomen; but he seemed scarcely to heed this more serious wound, and was giving his orders, or repeating his encouragements, when a third musket-ball hit him in the breast and brought him to the ground. His grieved men picked him up and carried him to the rear. He was dying fast, yet still continued intent on the battle. As his eyes were growing dim, he heard a wounded officer near him exclaim, “See how they run!”—“Who run?” cried Wolfe. “The French,” replied the officer; “they give way in

all directions." "Then," said the hero, "I die content!" and after giving an order for Webb's regiment to move down to Charles's River and secure the bridge there in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, he expired. General Monckton, the second in command, was dangerously wounded, but Townshend completed the victory. Montcalm received a mortal wound in attempting to rally the French, and his second in command was made prisoner, and conveyed on board an English ship, where he died the next day of his wounds. The city of Quebec capitulated five days after the battle, and the disheartened remnant of the French grand army of Canada retired to Montreal.

Other triumphs unmixed with that deep grief—for the nation had wept the fate of Wolfe—other victories in various parts of the world, were reported in rapid succession. In India, Colonel Coote, worthy of competing with Clive, defeated the French under General Lally, and conquered the whole of Arcot; Colonel Ford defeated the Marquis de Conflans, and took Masulipatam; and other advantages were gained by Captain Knox. On the continent of Europe success was not quite so invariable, for the French gained one or two battles, and once more threatened the unlucky electorate of Hanover. But Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, with his Hanoverians, Hessians, and English, determined to make a bold effort for the defence of the country, and took post near Minden. Here he was attacked at the dawn of day, on the 31st of July, by Marshal Contades, the Duke de Broglie, and the French, whose recent successes made them disregard his strong position and the admirably served British artillery which garnished it. After fighting nearly to the hour of noon the French fell into disorder, and reeled back from a field covered with their dead. At this moment Prince Ferdinand sent orders to Lord George Sackville to bring up all the British and Hanoverian cavalry, which had been lying on the right wing inactive and unexposed. This order was scarcely delivered by Ligonier when a second order was brought to march with only the *British* cavalry. Lord George,

who had not ceased quarrelling with the prince, replied to his aide-de-camp, in some confusion, "This cannot be! Would he have me break the line?" Young Fitzroy, the aide-de-camp, said, "My orders from the prince are positive: the French are in disorder!—here is a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves!" Lord George Sackville still hesitated, saying it was impossible the prince could mean to break the line. Lord Granby, the second in command, was spurring on, but Lord George made him halt. In the meanwhile the French fled completely from the field, and the battle was over before the British and Hanoverian cavalry came up. His dissensions with his superior in command were notorious to the whole army, but this did not hinder many officers from believing that there was cowardice mixed with spite. The weight of opinion was generally against Lord George, both in the camp abroad and in court and city at home. He wrote for leave to resign his command, and returned to England, to face and brave a court-martial, which, after Byng's affair, had become more terrible in the eyes of most officers than all the risks and dangers of a bloody battle. But, if our cavalry had no part in the honour of Minden, our infantry as well as our artillery obtained a large share of it. Six regiments of English foot sustained for a time the whole effort of the French, who exceeded 60,000 men. The whole force of the allies engaged was about 35,000. On the very same day the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick defeated a French corps at Coveldt. After various successes Frederick was again called to defend his own frontiers against the Russians, who were advancing with 86,000 men. Before his Prussian majesty could come up the Russians had effected their junction, at Frankfort on the Oder, with an Austrian army of 12,000 men under Marshal Laudon: yet, with only 48,000 men, Frederick attacked these hosts in their entrenchments, and was defeated after a horrible slaughter on both sides. This battle of Frankfort, or Kunersdorf, cost the King of Prussia nearly all his artillery, half of his generals and officers of distinction, and above 18,000 men in killed and wounded.

The English parliament met on the 13th of October, when Pitt spoke as the oracle of war. He disclaimed particular praise to himself, and professed his determination of keeping united with the rest of the ministers. But the ministerial unanimity of which Pitt boasted did not exist, and his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, was at this very moment urging a claim that put the cabinet in jeopardy. Temple asked the king for a vacant order of the Garter—the king, it appears, had promised the first riband to the Marquis of Rockingham, and wanted one, besides, to confer upon Prince Ferdinand. Pitt, with great eagerness, pressed his majesty to gratify Temple, saying that he would take it as a personal favour done to himself. But from entreaties he proceeded to threats, hinting to the Duke of Newcastle that, if he were not gratified, he would no longer sustain “the vast and dangerous load his majesty had been pleased to lay on his feeble shoulders.” The great patriot minister had openly said, and no doubt felt inwardly assured, that he, and he alone, could manage the war and serve his country effectually at this crisis; yet he was ready rather to cease serving his country than forego his brother-in-law’s claim to a gew-gaw! Seldom has a man been so meanly proud or so proudly mean; and, bringing his inconsistencies as it were into a sentence and an antithesis, he spoke to a courtier with an insolent scorn of courts while he was begging and bullying for a court distinction.*

But the old king, who loved Temple no better now than he had done two years before, continued obstinate; and Temple, on the 13th of November, just a month after the meeting of parliament, resigned. It is said that, in doing so, his lordship besought Mr. Pitt and his brothers (the two Grenvilles) not to follow his example, but remain where their services were so much wanted. But the old king, who knew the close links that bound the

* See Letter to the Duke of Newcastle in correspondence of William Pitt, earl of Chatham; edited by William Stanhope Taylor, Esq., and Captain John Henry Pringle, executors of his son, John earl of Chatham.

parties, and who could hardly be ignorant of Pitt's menacing letter to Newcastle, took the alarm, and commissioned the Duke of Devonshire to persuade Lord Temple to resume his place, by promising him that his ardent passion for the blue riband should be gratified. Temple, whose sudden resignation had been censured by the public, who felt that it *must* lead to the retirement of Pitt, was soothed by Devonshire's persuasion and promise: within a week he kissed hands again for the privy seal; and, shortly after this violence on the old king, he got the blue riband.

Pitt declared that this was no time for paltry economy; that the best economy was to push expenditure so as to finish the war. Few or none ventured to oppose or contradict; supplies, amounting to the hitherto unparalleled extent of 15,000,000*l.*, were voted; and the army, including the 18,000 militia, was fixed at more than 175,000 men in British pay!

A.D. 1760.—Lord George Sackville, having waited till the return of his brother officers from Germany, imperiously demanded a court-martial. After many delays the court-martial was appointed. Lord George was bold with his tongue, and he was skilful too. He assumed a dictatorial style to the court, and treated the inferiority of their capacities as he might have done if sitting amongst them, instead of being a prisoner before them. He browbeated the witnesses, gave the lie to one of them, and treated the judge-advocate with contempt. The trial ran out to a great length: but at length, on the 3rd of April, the court-martial finished their tedious business by pronouncing Lord George Sackville guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand, and declared it their opinion that he was unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever. The sentence was confirmed by the king, who, moreover, signified his pleasure, "that it should be given out in public orders, not only in Britain, but in America, and in every quarter of the globe where any of the English troops happen to be, that, officers being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature,

and that seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders." Nor did the old king stop here: he, with his own hand, struck out Lord George's name from the list of privy councillors, and forbade his appearance at court; ordered the lord chamberlain to notify this prohibition to the Prince of Wales and the princess-dowager; and sent the vice-chamberlain to acquaint Lord Bute with it. The potent favourite said, to be sure the prince would not think of seeing Lord George while it was disagreeable to his majesty; but the advanced age of the king gave assurance that the proscription at court could not last very long; and almost as soon as George III. was king, the haughty Sackville was taken back openly into favour, and he subsequently obtained lucrative employment and a peerage.

General Murray, a brave and adventurous soldier, had been left to defend the half-ruined town of Quebec, and our fleet had retired to escape being frozen up in the St. Lawrence. M. Levi, who had succeeded Montcalm, spent the winter in making preparations for a desperate effort to recover all that the French had lost, and, early in the spring, he took the field with a mixed body of French, Canadians, and Indians, exceeding in all 10,000 men. He marched from Montreal, and in the month of April, when the weather was still inclement, he appeared before Quebec. General Murray, with scarcely 7000 men, disdaining to wait a regular siege, marched out and attacked the enemy: but he was defeated, lost most of the guns he had taken out with him, was nearly cut off in his retreat, and got back to the city with great difficulty. As the ice cleared away, Levi brought up six French frigates, and began to form the siege by land and water. But on the 9th of May Lord Colville, with two good frigates, outsailing the rest of the English squadron, ascended the river and destroyed the French ships, under the eyes of Levi, who stood on the heights on the other side, but who presently decamped, and with such precipitation that he left his artillery and stores behind him. Nothing

now remained to the French in Canada except Montreal, and that last stronghold, wherein the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor-general, had collected all his magazines, was soon invested by General Amherst, General Murray, and Colonel Haviland; and, despairing of any succour from France, which could scarcely put a ship to sea, or spare a man from her wars in Europe, Vaudreuil capitulated on the 8th of September. Thus were the Canadas won, and the conquest of them had cost us comparatively but few men. This encouraged Pitt to call it "a bloodless war;" but, as he was conquering America through Germany, the blood spilt there was assuredly, in some measure, to be taken into the account; and there the carnage was and continued to be unprecedented in modern war.

On the 23rd of June the Austrians under Laudon attacked the Prussians under Fouquet, near Glatz, in Silesia, and gained a victory which cost the Prussians 8000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Austrians themselves 3000 men; and after their victory the Austrian soldiers committed unspeakable atrocities in one or two towns which their unusual success opened to them. From Glatz, Laudon advanced upon Breslau. Frederick's brother, Prince Henry, obliged him to raise that siege; but before the Austrians departed they had reduced the greater part of the thriving Breslau to a heap of ruins. Frederick himself, after a fruitless attempt to recover Dresden, was intercepted at Leignitz, and almost completely surrounded by Austrians and Russians; but on the 15th of August, with an union of heroism and consummate skill, he cut his way through the Austrians, killing some 2000, and taking some 5000 prisoners. He himself lost in killed and wounded about 1200 men, but this he called "only a scratch." He then joined his brother Henry, and rescued the town of Schweidnitz, besieged by Daun. But, in the meanwhile, a Russian army, under Tottleben and Czernichef, and an Austrian army under Lacy, after firing red-hot balls into the town, and bombarding it with shells and grenades, took Berlin, committed dreadful havock, and threw out their Cossacks

and Pandours to ravage all the country round about. Frederick struck away to rescue his capital, and Daun followed him. In a moment of despondency Frederick spoke, as he had done once or twice before, of committing suicide; but the Russians and Austrians ran away from Berlin as soon as they had heard of his approach, and his genius soon gave him fresh triumphs over the mediocrity or downright stupidity of his enemies' generals. Prince Ferdinand, who had with him nearly 20,000 British troops, gave the French a complete defeat at Warburg, and drove them into the Dimel, where many of them were drowned. The British grenadiers, artillery, dragoons, and the Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves in this sharp encounter, and the gallant Marquess of Granby was always found charging at the head of the horse. Such, however, was the numerical superiority of the French, who now called in their detachments and got reinforcements across the Rhine, that they were soon enabled to overrun Hesse and threaten the electorate of Hanover once more.

But George II., who had already spent nearly all his privately accumulated treasure and vast savings in defending his electorate, looked confidently to the arms of his nephew, Frederick, and the increasing poverty and disorganization of the French monarchy; and if he had any tender apprehensions about Hanover—he had been victorious for the last two years everywhere else—they were soon quieted in the grave.* On the 25th of October, the temperate, methodical old man rose as usual at six o'clock and drank his chocolate. At a quarter after seven he went into a little closet. Presently his German valet heard a noise as of some one falling, and, running into the closet, he found the king dead on the floor. They carried him to a bed and applied the lancet, but not

* In the course of the summer the Duke of Cumberland had a stroke of palsy. He soon recovered the use of his speech and of his limbs, but one of his eyes remained distorted, and the grossness of his habit and other disorders seemed to threaten a brief and miserable residue of existence.

a drop of blood followed: the ventricle of his heart had burst and caused an instantaneous and painless death. "Full of years and glory, he died without a pang, and without a reverse. He left his family firmly established on a long disputed throne, and was taken away in the moment that approaching extinction of sight and hearing made loss of life the only blessing that remained desirable."*

* Walpole, Memoirs.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

THE settlement, as it used properly to be styled, of 1689, was, in the church as well as in the state, much less of a revolution, than was either the abolition of the ancient government in 1640, or its restoration in 1660. The change in regard to the one, as well as to the other, was not of institutions, but only of persons. As the monarchy remained, with only a new king, so did the established church, with only the substitution of some new bishops and other clergymen.

The victory of 1668 was really, in the main, a victory of protestantism, and, as such, a victory of the established church. Yet, notwithstanding this character of the result, and notwithstanding also the fact that it had been principally brought about by means of the church, there is no doubt that the Revolution was far from being acceptable to the generality of the clergy. That event, indeed, brought with it no new laws directly affecting the established church in England—no alteration of anything in either its internal or external condition, in its doctrines, its discipline, its endowments, or its position in the state. On the contrary, all its ancient rights and liberties, some of which had been recently attempted to be infringed, were confirmed, and more distinctly recognised than they had been at any former period. But still there were obvious enough reasons why such a body as the established clergy should be in general dissatisfied with such a change as the Revolution. It is certain, in the first place, that, although the resistance of some of the heads of the church, in which they were backed by the nearly universal body of the clergy, as well as of the laity, had been principally instrumental in driving the late king from the

throne, yet that was a consequence of their conduct which was neither foreseen nor desired, either by some of themselves, or by the great multitude of their inferiors by whom they were supported and applauded.

The mass of the people can scarcely be said to have taken part at all in the measures that were ultimately adopted. And, even in the legislature, the majority of the peers were avowedly hostile to the deposition of the king. The Revolution of 1689 was not the act of the House of Commons alone, in so far as it was a national act at all. And even that body might possibly have contented itself with a less decided change if it had not been for the attitude taken by the Prince of Orange himself, who soon made it be clearly understood that he would only go on with and finish the work he had been called in to do upon one condition. So that, after all, this glorious Revolution, as it is styled, may be said to have been, on the part of the English nation, little less than a forced leap over a precipice, at the edge of which it found itself, without the power of retreat.

When the convention, which had conferred the crown upon William and Mary, had, by an act of the two Houses, which received the royal assent in the usual form, been turned into a parliament, and the oath of allegiance imposed by that act came to be administered to the Lords and Commons, only eight of the bishops in the first instance consented to take it; two more, after some hesitation, followed their example; but eight absented themselves, and persisted in refusing to acknowledge the new government. Of the number were Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Turner, bishop of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; and White, of Peterborough; five of the seven prelates whose refusal to read King James's Declaration of Indulgence had given the signal for the late Revolution. The other three who refused to take the oath were, Thomas, bishop of Worcester; Lloyd, of Norwich; and Frampton, of Gloucester. Lloyd, of St. Asaph, and Trelawney, of Bristol, were the only two of the seven petitioners against the indulgence who consented to sanction the

change which their petition had mainly contributed to bring about; the others, who took the oath along with them, being Lamplugh, archbishop of York (to which see he had been translated from Exeter scarcely three months before by King James); Compton, bishop of London; Barlowe, of Lincoln; Mew, of Winchester; Sprat, of Rochester; Bean, of Llandaff; and, shortly afterwards, Smith, of Carlisle; and Watson, of St. Davids. To these may be added Lord Crewe, bishop of Durham, who seems to have taken the oath in his capacity of a temporal peer. But, indeed, nearly all the bishops who complied with the new settlement were opposed to it at heart; Compton and Trelawney must be regarded as the only members of the right reverend bench who were really in favour of the transference of the crown from the head of James to that of William; only these two voted in the majority of fifty-one against forty-nine, by which it was carried that the vacant throne should be filled, not by a regent but by a king, while thirteen of their brethren were counted in the minority. On the whole, of the twenty-six spiritual peers, seven may be said to have been, at this time, owing to one cause or another, absent from Parliament; and, of the remaining nineteen, eleven consented to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, and eight refused or withdrew from the House to avoid it.

Before, however, they took the step, some of them, Barnet tells us, moved the House for a bill of toleration and another of comprehension, "that they might recommend themselves," he is pleased to add, "by a show of moderation." But the truth is, these nonjuring prelates, while they evinced their sincerity and conscientiousness by the strongest of all tests, were most of them, in all probability, more mildly disposed towards the dissenters, and really more favourable to a measure of toleration, than some of their brethren who took a different course.

Meanwhile, when it was found that the bishops who were averse to take the oaths could not be reached by the existing law, so long as they chose to refrain from presenting themselves in parliament, a new bill was

brought into the House of Commons, which was eventually passed under the name of "An Act for abrogating the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and appointing other oaths," and which, among other regulations, declared that every archbishop and bishop neglecting to take the new oaths should be liable to the same penalties as they would have been liable to by any statute for refusing to take the abrogated oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and further, that every holder of any ecclesiastical office whatsoever, by whom the new oaths should not have been taken before the 1st of August, should be in the first instance suspended for six months, and, at the end of that time, if he had not taken them, should be deprived. The debates upon this bill brought out very strongly the determined attachment of the majority of both Houses to the sacramental test, the great bar which kept the dissenters without the pale of the constitution. Accordingly, notwithstanding the exertions of Burnet, who, having been made bishop of Salisbury, was, he tells us, "the chief manager of the debate in favour of the clergy, both in the House of Lords and at the conferences with the Commons," the measure passed with no further mitigation of its original severity than the annexation of a clause leaving it to the king to allow to any twelve of the nonjuring clergy he might think fit to select, "an allowance out of their ecclesiastical benefices or promotions for their subsistence, not exceeding a third part, and to continue during his majesty's pleasure, and no longer."*

After all, the generality of the clergy took the oaths, "though," according to Burnet, "with too many reservations and distinctions, which laid them open to severe censures, as if they had taken them against their conscience."† In another passage, he imputes much of the general corruption of principle, which, he affirms, notwithstanding an outward face of virtue and sobriety, was now fast spreading through the nation, to this conduct of the ministers of religion: "It must be confessed," he

* 1 Will. and Mary, c. 8. † Own Time, ii. 28.

says, "that the behaviour of many clergymen gave Atheists no small advantage; they had taken the oaths and read the prayers for the present government; they observed the orders for public fasts and thanksgivings; and yet they showed, in many places, their aversion to our establishment but too visibly; so that the offence that this gave, in many parts of the nation, was too evident; in some places it broke out in very indecent instances, that were brought into courts of law and censured. This made many conclude that the clergy were a sort of men that would swear and pray, even against their consciences, rather than lose their benefices; and, by consequence, that they were governed by interest, and not by principle." Those of the bishops, however, who had in the first instance refused the oaths, had so far committed themselves that they could not well retract; and, accordingly, after remaining suspended for six months, they became, from the 1st of February, 1690, *ipso facto*, deprived under the late act. They were allowed, nevertheless, to continue at their sees for a year after this. However, all hope of winning them over was at length given up; and their actual ejection from their sees was resolved upon. Of the eight bishops who had expressly refused to take the new oath of allegiance, Thomas, of Worcester, had died in June, 1689, and Lake, of Chichester, in August of the same year; and their places had been already filled up by the appointment, in the following October, of Dr. Stillingfleet, to Worcester, and Dr. Patrick, to Chichester. The other six, Saneroff, of Canterbury; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Frampton, of Gloucester; Lloyd, of Norwich; and White, of Peterborough; were all now put out of their sees on the same day, the 1st of February, 1691, being exactly a year after they had incurred deprivation under the late act; and, immediately thereafter, Dr. Tillotson was appointed to Canterbury, Dr. Patrick to Ely, Dr. Fowler to Gloucester, Dr. Moore to Norwich, Dr. Cumberland to Peterborough, and Dr. Kidder to Bath and Wells; Patrick being succeeded in Ely by Dr. Grove. Salisbury and Bangor, which were vacant when

King William came to the throne, had, soon after that event, been given, the former to Dr. Burnet, the latter to Dr. Humphreys. Exeter, also, which had become vacant just before the Revolution, by the promotion of Lamplugh to York, had been filled up in April, 1689, by the translation of Trelawney from Bristol, where he was, in the following October, succeeded by Dr. Ironside; and now, in July, 1691, Croft of Hereford having lately died, Ironside was removed to that see, and was succeeded in Bristol by Dr. John Hall. The death of Cartwright, of Chester, immediately after the Revolution, had made room for Dr. Strafford in that see. Dr. Timothy Hall, whom James had made a bishop in October, 1688, died in April, 1690; upon which Dr. Hough was appointed to his see of Oxford. Finally, Lumplugh, of York, died in May, 1691; and Barlowe, of Lincoln, in October of the same year; when the former mitre was bestowed upon Dr. Sharp, the latter upon Dr. Tennyson. Altogether, it thus appears that, before he had been three years on the throne, King William, without including his completion of the translation of Trelawney, had issued no fewer than eighteen *congés* for the election of bishops. The new prelates, according to Burnet, "were generally looked on as the most learned, the wisest, and best men that were in the church." General as was the at least outward submission of the church, the number of ministers that openly stood out and seceded was not altogether insignificant. About four hundred of the inferior clergy followed the eight bishops in refusing the new oath of allegiance, and lost their livings in consequence. These, with the laity who accompanied them, formed a nonjuring church, avowedly Jacobite in its political predilections and principles, which, though ultimately reduced to a very quiescent as well as feeble condition, continued, for many years after the Revolution, to wage fierce controversy with the establishment on the theological aspects of the great question which divided them, as well as to give considerable uneasiness to the government on various occasions.

It has already been noticed that two measures for the

relief of the dissenters—a bill of toleration and a bill of comprehension—were left as legacies to the House of Lords by the section of the episcopal bench, which the new oath of allegiance scared away from parliament. The bills were actually brought forward, as well as drawn up, by the Earl of Nottingham, the Tory secretary of state, and the single representative of his principles in the cabinet, who on this occasion, however, not only acted as the mouth-piece of his party, but advocated opinions and views which were cordially participated in by his majesty himself. Very little opposition was made from any quarter to the bill of toleration, which accordingly was soon passed under the title of “An Act for exempting their Majesties’ Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws.”* Proceeding avowedly upon the consideration that some ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of religion might be an effectual means to unite their majesties’ Protestant subjects in interest and affection, it relieved dissenters from all penalties for not going to church or for attending their own places of worship, provided they were duly registered, and had not the doors locked or barred, on condition only of their taking the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribing the declaration against transubstantiation. Instead of the oaths, the Quakers were permitted to make and subscribe a declaration of fidelity to the government and a profession of their Christian belief. The only classes of religionists excepted from the benefits of this act were the Papists and the Socinians, or such as should deny, in preaching or writing, the doctrine of the Trinity as declared in the Thirty-nine Articles.

A plan for very extensive alterations in the church encountered such violent opposition that it was wisely allowed to fall to the ground.

But before the project of church reform was altogether dropped, a trial was made of what could be effected by means of a Convocation. The address to the king pray-

*1 Will. and Mary, c. 18.

ing him to summon that body, was not from the Commons alone, as Burnet seems to state, but from both Houses, and was presented on the 19th of April. The Convocation, it may be observed, though regularly assembled with every parliament since the Restoration, had done no business since the year 1662; so that the members were detained in town at considerable expense during the session merely to go through the parade duty of reading the church service in Latin. The clerical legislature had been kept thus tame and quiet, in part by the general spirit of subserviency to the crown, which had taken possession of the church, but chiefly through the subjection to which the Convocation had been reduced by an act of parliament passed in the reign of Henry VIII., absolutely prohibiting it from either assembling except by authority of the king's writ, or attempting to enact any canons, constitutions, or ordinances, without the royal assent and licence.* The king, too, as head of the church, was admitted to have, or at least had, ever since the Reformation, exercised the power of proroguing, or adjourning, and dissolving the Convocation, as well as of summoning it; so that the entire regulation of its proceedings was really in the hands of the crown, especially since the clergy had given up the right of taxing themselves, which they had done ever since the year 1665. All this considered, the prudence of reviving the parliament of priests at the present crisis might have been reasonably doubted. In compliance with the address of the Lords and Commons, however, the king's writ was issued for a convocation to meet during the next session of parliament. This announcement immediately set in action all the latent discontent with the course affairs were taking which was so generally diffused among the clergy, and inflamed to fury the various passions to which the late change had given birth. Burnet asserts, and probably with truth, that the Jacobites or friends of the deposed king, took advantage of the occasion to fill men's minds with all sorts of false rumours and unfounded fears.

* 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19.

In the mean time, however, with the view of getting in readiness the propositions to be laid before the convocation, royal letters had been directed to ten bishops and twenty dignified clergymen, commissioning them to meet and prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such plans for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, as might in their judgments be best suited to the exigencies of the time and to the correction of existing deficiencies and abuses. Great care, according to Burnet, was taken to name the commissioners so impartially that no exceptions could lie against any of them. Among them were all the bishops except the six under suspension, and Barlowe of Lincoln, Beaw of Llandaff, Watson of St. David's, Crewe of Durham, Croft of Hereford, Wood of Lichfield and Coventry, and Hall of Oxford, all of whom were either old and in infirm health, or notoriously disaffected although they had taken the oaths to the present government—some objectionable on both these grounds.* The list also comprised Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tillotson, Sharp, Kidder, Hall, Tennison, Fowler, and Grove, all of whom were raised to the bench within the next two years. The commissioners had many meetings in the Jerusalem Chamber, and occupied themselves with the business intrusted to them very diligently for some weeks. "They had before them," Burnet tells us, "all the exceptions that either the Puritans before the war, or the Nonconformists since the Restoration, had made to any part of the church service; they had also many propositions and advices that had been offered, at several times, by many of our bishops and divines upon those heads: matters were well considered and freely and calmly debated; and all was digested into an entire correction of everything that seemed liable to any just objection." Unanimity was not to be expected: four of the commissioners soon withdrew; but those who remained agreed on many material changes. Calamy gives it as his opinion that these

* The sees of Chichester, Worcester, and Bristol were vacant when the commission was issued.

alterations, with a qualified allowance of ordination by Presbyters, would in all probability have brought over two-thirds of the English dissenters to the established church.

But the labours of the commissioners were never so much as laid before the convocation. That body met on the 21st of November, when the Lower House immediately showed the temper in which it was, by the election of "the rigid" Dr. Jane as its prolocutor or president, and the rejection, by a great majority, of Dr. Tillotson, the person proposed by the moderate party for that office.* It is said that this vote was procured principally by the management of the two brothers, the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, with a view to embarrass the government. When Jane was presented to Compton, bishop of London, who in the absence of the primate sat as prolocutor of the Upper House, he delivered, as was customary, a long Latin speech, in which he extolled the Church of England, not only as standing above all other Christian communities, but as absolutely perfect, and requiring no amendment in anything; concluding, in triumphant defiance, with the celebrated expression of the unanimous barons in the time of the third Henry—*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*—We will not that the laws of England be changed. Compton, to whom Jane had formerly been chaplain,† replied with good temper, telling the inferior clergy that they ought to preserve a moderation in such things as were not essential in religion, thereby opening a door of salvation to a multitude of straying Christians; and observing that it could not but be their

* The Lower House of Convocation consists of all deans and archdeacons, one representative for every chapter, styled a proctor, and two proctors for the clergy of each diocese; making altogether 166 members.

† It is said that Jane, having been sent to the Prince of Orange by his university to make him an offer of their plate, conceived that he ought to have been rewarded with the bishopric of Exeter; and upon that preferment being given to Trelawny, became a professed enemy to King William and the Revolution.

.duty to show the same indulgence and charity to the dissenters under King William which some of the bishops had promised in their addresses to King James. This mildness, however, had no effect. The two Houses disagreed upon nearly every point which came under discussion, and they could not even agree in the wording of an address to the crown. "There was at this time," says Burnet, "but a small number of bishops in the Upper House of convocation; and they had not their metropolitan with them, so they had not strength nor authority to set things forward. Therefore they advised the king to suffer the session to be discontinued." The convocation was accordingly prorogued to the 24th of January, 1690, and on the 6th of February was, along with the parliament, dissolved: nor was it suffered to meet again for the transaction of business during the present reign.

And thus ended the project of a comprehension, or, in other words, of a remodelling of the established church, as entertained at the Revolution, being the last attempt of the kind that has been made. No concession for the purpose of satisfying the dissenters, no change of any kind in liturgy or canons, in doctrine or discipline, was wrung from the church at this crisis. Burnet was originally a zealous advocate for the proposed alterations; but he lived to feel and to acknowledge that it was fortunate the scheme had not succeeded.

What perhaps more than anything else operated to excite among the English clergy, and throughout the nation, a distrust of William's attachment to the established church, was the course which he found it necessary to allow ecclesiastical affairs to take in Scotland. In that kingdom the Revolution of 1688 threw the Anglican church to the ground at the first shock. Some hopeless attempts were made to build it up again, but there were no materials in the country for the reconstruction.

Nothing indeed, it is clear, that the king could do, could possibly have preserved the Episcopal church as the national establishment in Scotland, unless he had taken the settlement of the question out of the hands of the parliament altogether, and, as was done by Charles

II., attempted to maintain the authority of the bishops, against the fierce determined hostility of the whole people by the mere power of the sword. He failed even in the endeavours he made to moderate the extreme demands of the now all-powerful zealots of Presbytery. At least if they gave way to him in one or two mere points of phraseology, they yielded nothing that was essential. On the 22nd of July they at length passed an act utterly abolishing prelacy as a form of church government, which was, and had been ever since the Reformation, a great and insupportable grievance to the nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people.

Lay patronage, abolished in 1649, had been revived after the Restoration, and was now the law of the land—as, indeed, it always had been, with the exception only of the interval from 1649 to 1661; for even the act of 1592, by which Presbytery first obtained a legal establishment, had bound and restricted the church, in collating to vacant benefices, to receive and admit any qualified clerk presented by his majesty or other lay patron. The church, however, had always contended against this right of presentation in the crown and the other patrons of livings as an oppressive grievance. The Scottish act of June 7th, 1690, while reviving the act of 1592, in all its other provisions, expressly excepted “that part of it relating to patronages,” which, it was declared, should be reserved for after-consideration. We have explained in a former book what was the real nature of the system which took the place of lay patronage in 1649: the act of parliament merely ordained, in general terms, that whosoever should, upon the suit and calling of the congregation, after due examination of his literature and conversation, be admitted by any presbytery to the exercise and function of the ministry in any parish, should thereby become entitled to the manse, glebe, and stipend, and left it to the next general assembly to determine, by some clear rule, the just and proper interests of congregations and presbyteries in providing of kirks with ministers—in other words, the shares which the

congregation and the ecclesiastical court respectively were to have in the appointment; upon which the general assembly drew up a Directory, by which it was provided—first, that the congregation were to be of right entitled to hear and to make their choice from only such preachers as the presbytery should send to them; secondly, that, if they desired to hear any other, and the elders chose to make suit to the presbytery for that purpose, the presbytery should endeavour to procure them that satisfaction; thirdly, that the election should be made in the first instance by the session, and only submitted to the congregation for their approval; fourthly, that, if the majority of the congregation should dissent from the choice of the session, the matter should be submitted to the judgment of the presbytery, who should appoint a new election, unless they should find the dissent “to be grounded on causeless prejudices;” and fifthly, that, where the congregation should be “disaffected and malignant,” in that case the presbytery should provide them with a minister. It is evident that under this system the appointment of ministers was in the hands of the presbyteries or church-courts much more than in those of the people; and yet this is undoubtedly the nearest approach that was ever made to the popular election of the clergy in the practice of the Scottish church. It was the system which the clergy, and probably the majority of the people also, would have been best pleased to see restored along with the rest of the old Presbyterian establishment at the Revolution. One of the demands in a petition which was drawn up for presentation to the Prince of Orange soon after his landing was, “that the laical patronages be discharged, as was done in the parliament, 1649, and the people restored to their right and privilege of election, according to the warrant of God’s word.”* There was found to be somewhat greater difficulty, however, in

* See the paper in Woodrow, iv. 477-481. The historian is not sure that it was actually sent to the prince; but it was, he says, drawn up by ministers and gentlemen who had suffered in the preceding time of persecution, and thousands were ready to sign it.

arranging this matter than in effecting any of the other restorations called for by the popular voice. The revival of the practice introduced in 1649, however agreeable it might have proved to the church, and to the mass of the population, which was at the moment identified in fearing with the church, would undoubtedly have been opposed both by the crown and by the generality of the noblemen and landed proprietors, the holders of advowsons or rights of patronage, whose influence in the parliament was of course very formidable. It appears, accordingly, that a bill for restoring the system of 1649, introduced by the Earl of Morton in concert with the Presbyterian ministers, could not make its way through the House.* The act abolishing patronage was passed on the 19th of July. It gave the right of selecting the candidate in the first instance, which seems to have been regarded as nearly equivalent to the right of actual appointment, or at least as the most important part of that right, not, as in 1649, to the elders, but to the elders conjointly with the heritors; which term, though now used for landholders in general, then signified the landed proprietors having a certain amount of valued rent. The person thus selected by the heritors and elders was then to be proposed to the congregation, who might indeed disapprove of him, but their dissent did not necessarily involve his rejection; the matter was to be finally submitted to the presbytery, who, if they thought the reasons alleged against his settlement insufficient, might proceed to induct him into the benefice in the face of the opposition of the people. This new system then was distinguished from that of 1649 chiefly by the share in the appointment of ministers which it allowed to the superior landed proprietors, in the number of whom were of course to be found all the ancient patrons, or holders of advowsons, whose right of presentation were now taken from them. And the act also gave these persons a direct compensation for the rights of which it deprived them; first, by conferring on the patron all the tithes of the parish to

* Report from Committee of House of Commons on Church Patronage, Scotland, 1834, p. 361.

which no one else could show an heritable title; and, secondly, by providing that there should be paid to him a sum of 600 marks, (about 33*l.* sterling,) by the heritors, on his renouncing his right in their favour. It does not appear, however, that the acquisition of the right of appointing their own clergyman by the parish, in so far as such right was conferred by the new act, was made dependent upon the payment of this money, which indeed it has been doubted if the act made it compulsory upon the patron to accept. It is certain that, in point of fact, patronage was abolished, and a popular election substituted in its stead, as soon as this law was passed; and yet it appears that in the space of more than twenty years, during which it subsisted, only four parishes in all Scotland obtained renunciations from their patrons by the payment of the 600 marks. It is somewhat difficult therefore to understand what might be the precise meaning or purpose of this provision.

Meanwhile, a large proportion of the benefices from which Episcopalian clergymen had been ejected at the Revolution were filled up, in the first instance, without the observance of any particular form of election or appointment, under the clause of the act restoring Presbytery, which directed that the Presbyterian ministers who had taken their places by desire or consent of the parish should continue in possession till the church should further determine. By the same act the church, considered as consisting of these Presbyterian ministers, and such others as survived of those who had been deprived in 1661, was armed with absolute authority over all the other benefices in the kingdom, in so far at least as respected the ejection of the existing incumbents, the places of as many of whom as were thereupon turned out would of course be filled up according to the provisions of the other act abolishing patronage shortly after passed. It is rather surprising that so rough a winnowing should have left in their livings so many of the old prelatical clergy as we are told were suffered to remain; it is said that about three hundred of them retained their churches out of a body not numbering quite a thousand in all.

Such were the opposite effects of the Revolution upon the national church in the two ends of the island:—in England consolidating and confirming the established Episcopacy—in Scotland sweeping it utterly away, and in its place re-erecting the old abolished edifice of Presbytery on broader and deeper foundations than ever.

The position in which the Revolution had placed the generality of the Protestant dissenters has been explained in the account given in a preceding page of the Toleration Act, which was the only measure passed in their favour—for the Corporation and Test Acts, which excluded them from public employments, were still left upon the statute-book. But even the limited relief granted by the Toleration Act was not extended to the most numerous class of Nonconformists—the Roman Catholics. Nay, so far was this portion of the population from participating in the removal or relaxation of old bonds which the Revolution brought with it to all other descriptions of religionists (unless, indeed, we are to except the Socinians or Anti-trinitarians, who were excluded along with the adherents of Popery from the benefits of the act of toleration) that the penal laws affecting them were actually extended, and carried to a pitch of severity and wild oppression far transcending what they had ever before reached, in the boasted era of light and liberty which succeeded the expulsion of the Stuarts. Some hot spirits, we are informed by Burnet, were for having some new and more stringent laws enacted against the Papists as soon as they had got King William fairly seated on the throne; and his majesty could only restrain their zeal by frightening them with the danger of exciting another European Catholic league against this country, and giving France the advantage of making the war a quarrel of religion, in which she would have all the powers of that faith assisting her, if such a course should be followed. “This was so carefully infused into many,” says Burnet, “and so well understood by them, that the Papists have enjoyed the real effects of the toleration, though they were not comprehended within the statute that enacted it.” This, however, must be under-

stood as true only of the first few years after the Revolution, when the passage was probably written. The national craving for more and more virulent laws against Popery, which had with difficulty been kept down for a time, became, before the end of the reign of William, too ardent to be repressed either by fear of Catholic leagues or any other consideration of mere state policy. Indeed, the popular bigotry was now taken advantage of by the heartless politicians of both the great parties of the day, and the persecution of the Catholics which it yearned and clamoured for became the game at which they endeavoured to out-manceuvre and turn the tables upon each other in their contention for place and power. An act was passed in the year 1699, "For the further preventing the growth of Popery," which, after a preamble complaining of the neglect of the due execution of the laws already in force, proceeded to deal with the matter in the following extraordinary fashion:—First, a reward of a hundred pounds was ordered to be paid to every person who should apprehend any Popish bishop, priest, or jesuit, and prosecute him to conviction for saying mass, or exercising any other part of his office within these realms. Secondly, it was enacted that the priest so convicted should be adjudged to perpetual imprisonment. Thirdly, the keeping a school, or undertaking the education, government, or boarding of youth, by any Papist, or person making profession of the Popish religion, was made a crime to be visited on conviction by the same penalty. Fourthly, every person educated in the Popish religion, or professing the same, who within six months after attaining the age of eighteen should not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and also subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass,—in other words, abjure his or her religion,—was disabled and made incapable of inheriting, or taking by descent, devise, or limitation, in possession, reversion, or remainder, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments within this realm, and the next of kin being a Protestant was authorised to take possession of and enjoy what the rightful owner,

• In consequence of being a Roman Catholic, was thus deprived of. Fifthly, all Papists or persons professing the Popish religion, were disabled and made for the future incapable of purchasing any lands, tenements or other hereditaments, either in their own names or in those of any other persons. Sixthly, the penalty of a hundred pounds imposed by an act of James I. upon the offence of sending a child to be educated abroad in the Romish religion, was directed to be paid in whole to the informer, instead of half only to the informer and the other half to his majesty, as heretofore. And, seventhly, it was directed that if any Popish parent should refuse to allow his or her Protestant child a fitting maintenance, suitable to the degree and ability of the parent, and to the age and education of the child, then upon complaint thereof made to the lord chancellor, his lordship should make such order in the case as should be agreeable to the intents of the present act.

Nor did these severe acts terminate the long course of penal or otherwise oppressive legislation, in regard to persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, which the English government had pursued from the reign of Elizabeth. In 1713 Anne's last parliament deemed it necessary to strengthen and make more effectual certain old statutes disabling Popish patrons from presenting to livings in the church;* and after the suppression of the rebellion of 1715, the first parliament of George I. passed an act compelling all papists of the age of twenty-one years to register their names and estates, with the yearly rent thereof, in books to be kept by the clerk of the peace for every county. The preamble of this statute boasts of the tender regard that had been shown the Papists for many years past, "by omitting to put in execution the many penal laws, which, on occasion of the many just provocations they have given, and horrid designs they have framed for the destruction of this kingdom and the extirpation of the Protestant religion, have been made against them," and asserts that they had en-

* 12 Ann. stat. 2, c. 14.

joyed and did then enjoy the protection and benefit of the government, as well as the rest of his majesty's subjects. Yet, notwithstanding this indulgent treatment, they had all, "or the greatest part of them," it is affirmed, been "concerned in stirring up and supporting the late unnatural rebellion;" among the objects of which is enumerated, not only "the destruction of the Protestant religion," but "the cruel murdering and massacring its professors"—"by which," says the invective, "they have brought a vast expense upon this nation." And the new regulation compelling them to register their estates is specially put upon the grounds that "it manifestly appears by their behaviour that they take themselves to be obliged, by the principles they profess, to be enemies to his majesty and to the present happy establishment, and watch for all opportunities of fomenting and stirring up new rebellions and disturbances within the kingdom, and of inviting foreigners to invade it; and for as much as it is highly reasonable that they should contribute a large share to all such extraordinary expenses as are or shall be brought upon this kingdom by their treachery and instigation." It would seem from this as if some intention had been entertained of taking advantage of the registration of their estates for the purpose of a separate taxation of the Roman Catholics. Nothing of this kind, however, was actually attempted; the hard words and angry menaces of the statute of 1715 were soon forgotten: during the remainder of the present period, if the penal laws against Popery were not repealed or even mitigated, they were not extended or made more severe; even the next much more serious Jacobite outbreak of 1745 came and passed away without either setting the inventive powers of parliament to work to forge new fetters for the Roman Catholic part of the population, or so much as provoking another impassioned preamble.

The legislation affecting the other descriptions of dissenters, subsequent to the Toleration Act, did not amount to much. For the most part, however, it consisted in the removal, either wholly or in part, of old

disabilities and restrictions, and in affording relief from inconveniences occasioned by conscientious scruples. Generally, this relaxation of the law seems to have been proceeded with as far and as fast as the state of public feeling would allow:—in some instances, indeed, the legislature rather outran the progress of opinion in favour of the principles of religious liberty. The principal circumstances have been related in the preceding chapter.

The accession of Anne almost turned the heads of the Tory and high-church clergy, and probably by that very means prevented them from acquiring the power and ascendancy which they might now have secured had their proceedings been less incautious and violent. Throughout the greater part of her reign the convocation sat regularly at the same time with the parliament; but the session was seldom anything else than one long, stormy altercation between the two Houses, for the most part about the same point of privilege that had originally set them against each other, or, rather, which had been taken up as the most convenient bone of contention around which their mutual animosities might gather and encounter; but, on one or two occasions, involving also some other matters which in like manner derived nearly their whole importance from the opposing passions to which they served as excitement and fuel. But, as we have intimated, the bishops, with everything against them, the queen at heart with the high-church majority of the Lower House, and court and government openly adverse or secretly thwarting them, managed to maintain their ground, and sometimes even to drive back their assailants with loss and discredit, merely by the greater moderation and coolness which they opposed to the impetuosity and over-confidence of the other party, who, with the advantages they now seemed to possess, never could believe in the possibility of their own defeat until they found themselves actually discomfited and sprawling in the mud.

During the session of parliament (1709-10) which is memorable for the prosecution of Sacheverell, we hear of the convocation; the series of prorogations was so frequently continued so as to prevent it from ever

meeting. But when Sacheverell's affair, and the intrigues of Mrs. Masham together, had thrown out the Whig ministers and brought back the Tories, the clergy found themselves in a new era. A new parliament and a new convocation met on the same day, the 25th of November, 1710. The clergy of the Lower House chose Dr. Atterbury for their prolocutor; and then came down a royal rescript in a style very different from that to which they had of late years been accustomed, a licence empowering the convocation to enter upon such consultations as the present state of the church required, and particularly to consider of such matters as her majesty should lay before them, accompanied by a letter to the archbishop, directing that an account should be drawn up by the two Houses of the late excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, and that they should take into consideration how to redress abuses in excommunications—how rural deans might be made more serviceable—how terriers (registers of land) might be more exactly made and preserved—and how a correction might be applied to the abuses in licences for marriage. In all this, according to Burnet, neither the archbishop nor any of the bishops were so much as consulted with; everything was dictated by Atterbury, who had the confidence of Harley, the prime minister. As for Tennison, he was prevented from attending after the first meetings by a sharp attack of the gout: the royal licence, by an unprecedented deviation from the usual form, had named Compton, bishop of London, and Hooper, of Bath, and Wells (the same that was prolocutor of the Lower House in 1701), as the only substitutes the archbishop could appoint; but Compton was also unwell; and Hooper "seeing," says Burnet, "how invidiously he was distinguished from his brethren, in which he had not been consulted, pretended ill health; and we were at a stand till a new licence was sent us, in which the Bishops of Winchester (Trelawny), Bristol (Robinson), and St. David's (Bisse), were added to be of the quorum. The two last were newly consecrated, and had been in no functions in the church before; so the queen not only passed over all the bishops made in King William's reign,

but a great many of those named by herself, and set the two last in a distinction above all their brethren."* A great stir was made in this convocation about a variety of matters, but, as usual, absolutely no business was done.

The next winter (1711-12) began with a new dispute between the two Houses; the bishops proposing to take up the business of the preceding year at the point at which it had been stopped by the prorogation, Atterbury and the Lower House insisting that, as in parliament, a prorogation by royal writ made it necessary that all proceedings should be begun afresh. The result was, that the unfinished business of the last year was dropped altogether. But an act having been passed in the last session of parliament for building fifty new churches in London and Westminster, an office for consecrating churches and churchyards was proposed by the bishops; "and probably," says Burnet, "this will be all the fruit that the church will reap from this convocation."† Other two subjects were taken up, indeed, the one by the Lower, the other by the Upper House; but only to end in nothing. Several books had been published by Jacobite and Non-juring divines, containing notions that were thought to savour of Popery; in particular Dr. George Hickes, the eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar, had promulgated something like the Roman Catholic doctrine of there being a real sacrifice in the eucharist; and a clergyman of the name of Brett had preached and printed a sermon in which he maintained the necessity of priestly absolution in very high strain, asserting that no repentance could be of any avail without it. A motion was made in the Lower House to censure these opinions; "but it was so ill supported," says Burnet, "that it was let fall." The bishops seem to have stood aloof from this business; but they also had a heresy of their own. This was a conceit, said to have been originally started by the learned Henry Dodwell, and to have obtained extensive circulation, that

* Own Time, ii. 570.

† Own Time, ii. 603.—Burnet says by mistake that the bill for the new churches was then in parliament.

there was no validity in baptism unless when performed by a clergyman episcopally ordained. "This," observes Burnet, "made the dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view; and several little books were spread about the nation to prove the necessity of rebaptising them, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done. Nothing," he adds, "of this kind was so much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptised by dissenters."* To put a stop to this new doctrine, the bishops drew up a declaration, pointing out the *irregularity* of baptism by persons not in holy orders, but stating also that, according to the practice of the primitive church, and the constant usage of the Church of England, no baptism, if it were only performed in the orthodox mode, ought to be reiterated. In the Upper House, Bishop Sprat, who had no reputation as a theologian, was the only person who refused his assent to this exposition; but when it was sent down to the Lower House, "they would not so much as take it into consideration," Burnet tells us, "but laid it aside, thinking that it would encourage those who struck at the dignity of the priesthood." Thus passed another winter in contention between the two Houses, and a busy doing of nothing. In the next year the convocation seems to have met only to present the usual formal address to the crown; and in 1714 the two Houses presented a joint address, concluding with the expression of their wishes and prayers that her majesty might be able to transmit the protection of the church and state "to a Protestant successor in the illustrious House of Hanover."† The majority in the Lower House, therefore, can scarcely be considered as Jacobitically inclined at this time. The close of the reign of Anne, we may here notice, was marked by several changes among the heads of the church. Sharp, archbishop of York, died in February, 1714, and was succeeded by Dawes, bishop of Chester, one of the most

* Own Time, ii. 604.

† Tindal, iv. 340.—Boyer's History of Queen Anne, p. 671.

eminent of the party styled Hanover Tories. In the preceding year Atterbury had been raised to the bench as Bishop of Rochester, on the death of Sprat; and Dr. John Robinson (the diplomatist of the peace of Utrecht) had been translated from Bristol to London, as successor to Compton, who died in the beginning of July, in his eighty-first year — “a generous and good-natured man,” says Burnet, “but easy and weak, and much in the power of others.”* Archbishop Tennison still survived; but he also died in the end of the year 1715, about a year and a half after the accession of King George. He was succeeded by Dr. Wake, translated from Lincoln, a prelate of distinguished learning and ability.

Meanwhile the restless volcano, which had so long disturbed the church and the public mind, was fast approaching its final extinction. The convocation sat in 1714, along with Queen Anne's last parliament. It also appears to have been allowed to sit as usual, on the accession of George I. and for the next two years, but its proceedings, if any, were unimportant. But in 1717, when it was hotly engaged in a controversy about Dr. Hoadly and his alleged heresies, it was stopped in an early stage of its proceedings by a royal prorogation, which put an end to its debates for that year; and since then, although this clerical assembly has continued, as formerly, to be summoned, and to meet, with every new parliament, it has never been suffered to sit for the transaction of business, being always prorogued as soon as the mere preliminary formalities have been gone through.†

The suppression of the convocation in modern times has taken from the clergy of the English church their only arena of debate, and even chamber of common deli-

* Own Time, ii. 630.

† The convocation, it is proper to observe, is not a national, but only a provincial synod. The convocation of the province of York does not appear to have ever been in the habit of meeting regularly: the convocation of whose proceedings an account has been given in the text, and which still subsists in form, is that of the province of Canterbury only.

beration, thus leaving the greatest corporation in the kingdom without any such organ for making its voice be publicly heard as is possessed even by the smallest. The representation of the church, if so it may be called, by the bishops in the House of Lords is all that now remains either of its ancient legislative authority, as one of the estates of the realm, or even of its power of independent self-regulation. Of the church of Scotland, the liberty of public debate and internal legislation may be said to be a necessary part of the constitution—to its democratic and republican character the very breath of life;—and accordingly that establishment has preserved to our own day, and can scarcely lose so long as it continues to exist, its presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. But in another important particular the system of the Scottish church, as settled at the Revolution, was innovated upon before that event was many years old. The law of 1690, which gave the filling up of vacant churches to the heritors and elders, was repealed in 1712, and the rights of the ancient patrons restored by an act, the preamble of which asserts that that way of calling ministers had proved inconvenient, and had occasioned great heats and divisions in parishes.* There is no doubt that this act of 1712 was a most unpopular measure in Scotland, where, whatever inconveniences it might profess to be intended to remedy, it was generally looked upon both as opposed to the true spirit and principles of Presbyterianism, and as a direct violation of the Treaty of Union, passed only five or six years before, by which it

* Stat. 10 Ann. c. 12. There has been much difference of opinion, as has been already stated, about the actual working of the law of 1690. Much information on the subject may be found in the evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Commons which sat on Church Patronage in Scotland in 1834; we would refer particularly to the evidence of Dr. Cook, which is unfavourable, to that of Dr. MacCrie on the other side, and above all to that of Dr. Lee, who treats the question with the least of a bias, and whose facts and illustrations are at the same time collected from by far the widest range of reading and research.

was stipulated that no alteration should ever be made in any part of the worship, discipline, or government of the Scottish church, as established by the act of 1690 ratifying the Confession of Faith, and by all the other acts relating thereto passed in prosecution of the Declaration of Rights. But, as the Scottish Declaration of Rights made no mention of patronage, it was probably held that the law regulating that matter was not one of those which were thus made for ever unalterable. Violent quarrels, schisms, and secessions from the kirk followed closely on the heels of the Act of 1712; and these have continued, more or less, to agitate Scotland down to 1846.

But the religious movement in Scotland, of which the Secession was the most noticeable outward manifestation, had in reality a much deeper source than was indicated by the circumstances out of which it immediately arose, and the particular grievance, or grievances, against which it professed to be mainly directed. The law of patronage, and the various things that were objected to in the conduct of the church courts, only furnished the occasion for an outbreak and revolt against the existing systems, with the real elements of which these abstrusive but superficial subjects of complaint had little or nothing to do. They were but the drawing of the trigger—at most, but the exciting spark; the explosive force that wrought the effect lay in passions and tendencies that had long been forming and gathering strength in the minds of men, and were now become, in a manner, the moving spirit of the age, in so far as religion was concerned. It is remarkable that as nearly as possible of the same date with the Secession in Scotland is the origin of Methodism in England. John Wesley, then a student in Christ Church, Oxford, had been in the habit of meeting several evenings in each week for prayer and other religious exercises with some of his fellow-students from the year 1729, and the society thus formed was joined by George Whitefield in 1734; in 1735 John Wesley and his brother Charles embarked for the new colony of Georgia, to preach to the American Indians; and in the following year Whitefield, then

just ordained, began to produce a great sensation in London and other parts of England, and to draw crowded audiences around him, by the fervid manner and strain of his preaching, and by a species of what would now be called Evangelicism in doctrine, which he and his Oxford associates appear to have drawn for the most part from the writings and the conversation of the celebrated mystic William Law, and which at that time, to the unaccustomed ears of the congregations of the established church, sounded almost like a new Gospel. But neither Whitefield's nor Wesley's religious views were matured, or assumed their final shape and character, till some time after this : Wesley seems to have received his first impression of what he accounted genuine Christianity from the Moravians, with some of whom he met in America, and whose principal establishment, at Herrnhut, in Germany, he visited after his return to Europe in 1738 : he himself relates that his conversion took place at a meeting of some religious friends in Aldersgate-street, London, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, about a quarter before nine o'clock on the evening of Wednesday, the 24th of May, in that year. Whitefield, again, who had first visited Georgia about the same time that Wesley left that colony, and who, in the course of a second transatlantic expedition, on which he set out about two years afterwards, proceeded to the older settlements of New England, was confirmed by the American Puritans and the books they put into his hands in the Calvinistic creed of election and reprobation, of which he had already received a tincture from the writings of the old Nonconformist divine, Matthew Henry, and to which he ever after adhered. Preaching extemporaneously and in the open air was first practised by Whitefield in 1739, in the interval between his two visits to America ; the colliers in the neighbourhood of Bristol—to whom, drawn forth from the living entombment of their black subterranean working-places, well might the blue sky seem temple enough—were, appropriately, the first audiences he addressed in this fashion ; soon afterwards he gathered other crowds of

thousands and tens of thousands around him by the same novel exhibition in Moorfields, on Kennington Common, and on Blackheath; and in this course he was speedily followed by Wesley, who had now returned from Germany, and found himself, as well as his friend, excluded from nearly all the pulpits of the established church. "When I was told," says Wesley, "I must preach no more in this, and this, and another church, so much the more those who could not hear me there flocked together when I was at any of the societies, where I spoke more or less, though with much inconvenience, to as many as the room I was in would contain. But, after a time, finding those rooms could not contain a tenth part of the people that were earnest to hear, I determined to do the same thing in England which I had often done in a warmer climate—namely, when the house would not contain the congregation, to preach in the open air. This I accordingly did, first in Bristol, where the society rooms were exceedingly small; and at Kingswood, where we had no room at all; afterwards in or near London." But Wesley, who never altogether got over the feelings of a churchman, is very solicitous to show that this deviation from the established forms was rather forced upon than sought by him.* The great distinction of Methodism, the permission of lay preaching, soon followed; the first lay preacher whom Wesley employed being Thomas Maxfield, whom he originally engaged merely to watch over and pray with the congregation at his meeting-house, called the Foundry, which he had built in Moorfields, while he should himself be ministering elsewhere, but who, on one occasion of his master's absence, having discovered his talent, did not choose to keep it folded up in a napkin. When Wesley first heard of what was going on, he hastened home to London with full resolution to shut the mouth of the aspiring youth, and that with all despatch. "So, Thomas Maxfield is turned preacher, I find," said he to his mother, as soon as he arrived, with dissatisfaction in his counte-

* See Wesley's Journal.

nance, and speech abrupt enough; but the old lady withstood him to his face, warned him not to oppose the work of God, and told him that Thomas Maxfield was as surely called of God to preach as he himself was; upon which Wesley consented to hear him, and, by an examination into the effects of his administrations, was soon convinced that his mother was in the right. A year or two before this, indeed, Whitefield had, in Wales, associated himself for some time with a Mr. Howell Harris, who, although a layman, had long been in the habit of preaching to the people in Welsh; Whitefield and he used to preach at every place to which they came, the one after the other, that those who understood either language might be benefited; but it does not appear that Whitefield had employed lay preachers in any of his own chapels, or contemplated their ministrations as a regular engine of religious instruction, before the adventurous attempt of Maxfield, and its success, made Wesley a convert to that practice, which indeed has been carried much farther in the great Methodist community of which he was the founder than by the rival sect.

For scarce had the two regenerators well begun to act in concert, when, from friends and coadjutors, they became rivals, and, for a short time, almost enemies. Notwithstanding the love of power, and aversion to equality and brotherhood, attributed to Wesley, it must be admitted that the breach was of Whitefield's making, or at least that it was he who first came forward as the public opponent and assailant of his senior. This happened in the year 1741. The consequence was an almost complete separation between the two for nearly ten years: it was not till 1750 that they ever again officiated together in the same chapel. Meanwhile, each had been unceasingly employed in extending the boundaries of what was still in the main their common Methodism, notwithstanding the discordance upon some points that kept them labouring apart, and sometimes at the opposite corners of the field. The year 1743 is assigned as the epoch of the proper foundation of Wesleyanism, by the contrivance of the first form of that system of government and disci-

pline which has ever since united the followers of Wesley into one compact and at the same time thoroughly organized body, reciprocally sentient over all its circles, societies, classes, bands, and individual members; and also under the most complete subjection to the ruling authority which he himself wielded so long as he lived, and then left to the council of preachers called the Conference, in so far at least as legal deeds could bequeath such a legacy. No such frame of polity was erected by Whitefield for his description of Methodism; and, whether owing entirely to that, or partly to other differences, this latter has never spread among the mass of the population to anything like the same extent with Wesleyanism; but it was, perhaps, somewhat before the other in penetrating to the upper regions of society—an advantage which it owed chiefly to the accident of Whitefield finding a convert to his peculiar views in the famous Lady Huntingdon. Selina, countess-dowager of Huntingdon, appears to have taken to the open profession of Methodism soon after the death of her husband, in 1746; it was in the summer of 1748, after his return from a third visit to America, that Whitefield was first invited to preach in her house at Chelsea.

Besides its early diffusion in the congenial climate of Puritanical America, where it continues to flourish in a degree unexampled even in the country where it first sprang up, Methodism was planted within the present period both in Scotland and in Ireland.

We have spoken of the Methodists as a sect; but, at least during the present period, they can scarcely be properly said to have assumed that character. Both Wesley and Whitefield continued to regard themselves as ministers of the Church of England, in which they had been ordained, to the end of their days; and Wesley, at least, seems to the last to have held to the principle that all the people ought to be in communion with the establishment, whether they saw good to limit their attendance to the ministrations of the established clergy or not. He recommended that the members of all his congregations should receive the sacrament thrice a-year, as the law required,

from their parish clergymen—nay, he seems almost to have thought that it was their duty to hear service once every Sunday at their parish churches as well as at their meeting-houses at another hour and on week-days. At first, indeed, he would not allow his own preachers either to administer the sacrament or to perform the office of baptism, though after a time he deemed it expedient to give way in that matter to the general feeling of his followers. Whitefield, perhaps, did not carry his notion of the rights of the establishment quite so high, nor does he appear to have thought it of any great importance how those to whom he preached might be circumstanced in regard to the more outward framework of a church; but this very indifference withheld him from sympathising with dissent as such. Methodism, therefore, so long as its founders lived, was, or at any rate professed to be, rather an extension of the established church than a hostile or rival institution—a cultivation of the waste lands and commons lying scattered and hitherto neglected within her territory, rather than an abstraction of any part of her ancient and rightful possessions. No doubt all this while there were many elements in the new power thus called into action as essentially adverse to the interests of the establishment as any system of open dissent that was ever preached. On the whole, the position of Methodism in this respect was exceedingly anomalous. The whole phenomenon bore a considerable resemblance to the appearance in the early part of the thirteenth century of the Mendicant Friars; who, both in the field and manner of their ministrations, and in the peculiar character of the relation in which they stood to the church and to the rest of the clergy, may be styled the Methodists of that time.

BOOK X.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO
THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTEST WITH AMERICA.

A.D. 1760—1785.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

ENGLAND.
1760 George III.

FRANCE.
1715 Louis XV.
1774 Louis XVI.

SPAIN.
1759 Charles III.

PORTUGAL.
1750 Joseph.
1777 Maria.

GERMANY.
1745 Francis I.
1765 Joseph II.

RUSSIA.
1741 Elizabeth.
1762 Peter III.
1762 Catherine II.

DENMARK.
1746 Frederic V.
1766 Christian VII.

SWEDEN.
1751 Adolphus Fre-
deric.
1772 Gustavus III.

PRUSSIA.
1740 Frederic II. (the
Great).

POLAND.
1734 Augustus III.
1764 Stanislaus II.
(Poniatowski).
1772 First Partition.

TURKEY.
1757 Mustapha III.
1774 Abdoul Hamed.

TWO SICILIES.
1759 Ferdinand IV.

POPES.
1758 Clement XIII.
1769 Clement XIV.
1775 Pius VI.

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE III.

A.D. 1760.—THE sudden decease of George II., on the morning of the 25th of October, left the throne empty for his heir apparent, the eldest son of the late Frederick, Prince of Wales. George was riding out on horseback, in the neighbourhood of Kew Palace, with his groom of the stole and inseparable companion, Lord Bute, when news was brought him that his grandfather was dead, and that he was king. This important intelligence was presently confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Pitt, the real head of the government. They repaired together to Kew, where the new king remained during the rest of the day and the following night. On the morning of the 26th of October George went up to St. James's. When Pitt waited upon him there, he presented the sketch of an address to be pronounced at the meeting of the privy council; but he was told by his majesty that that business had already been thought of, and a speech prepared for the occasion. This seems to have convinced the haughty minister that Bute would not rest contented with a subordinate place, but would aspire to the highest through the favour of the young king and the warm predilection of the young king's mother. In the course of the day George was proclaimed with the usual solemnities. The next day was a Sunday, and allowed of no business; but on the Monday the Earl of Bute was sworn a member of the privy council, and Prince Edward, Duke of York, the eldest of the king's brothers, was also appointed to a seat at the table. The old Duke of Newcastle pretended to be deeply afflicted at the loss of his dear master, George II.,

and even protested that he would retire from court and from the world ; yet he soon consented to remain at his post, though overshadowed by his great and peremptory colleague, Mr. Pitt. Almost the first act of government of the new king was a proclamation "For the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality." There was an uncomfortable opinion abroad that the young king might be too subservient to his mother and her favourite, and too partial to the countrymen of Lord Bute ; and a paper was fixed on the Royal Exchange with these words :—"No petticoat government—no Scotch minister—no Lord George Sackville !" It was observed, too, as something ominous, that many noble and decided Jacobites, who had never appeared at court, were now hastening to kiss hands, in the joyful forethought of a Tory resurrection. The countenance of Pitt, who was still the popular minister, was evidently clouded, and reports were spread of disagreements in the existing Whig cabinet.

On the 18th of November the new king met parliament for the first time. One clause in his speech strongly excited the feeling of nationality. "Born and educated in this country," said George, "I glory in the name of Briton." He said it would be the happiness of his life to promote the happiness of a loyal and affectionate people ; and that the civil and religious rights of his loving subjects were equally dear to him with the most valuable prerogative of his crown. A tribute was paid to the spirit of union and good harmony which prevailed, and, by implication, this praise was made to extend to the existing cabinet, which had found the country in a ferment of faction and discontent, and had tranquillised it by their brilliant series of victories and conquests. Yet, at this very moment, the train was laying for the expulsion of Pitt and his colleagues ; and Bute, better fitted to perform Lothario on a private stage, was anxious to act the part of secretary of state, and was busily engaged with that old trimmer and intriguer Bubb Dodington. On the 29th of November, Bute had

a long conference with Bubb, who pressed him to act immediately. A few days after this the Duke of Newcastle was again threatening to resign, not, however, in sorrow and grief, but in anger at some court appointments which had been made without his knowledge; yet the duke continued to flatter Lord Bute with the king, and offered to act with or even *under* him. Before the king's speech to parliament was six weeks old, Bute agreed with Bubb Dodington that his majesty ought to make a very different one to the new parliament, declaring that he found himself involved in a war of which he could not approve—that he was convinced the present method of defending Hanover would ruin England—that he was determined to leave that electorate to take its own chance, and apply the money spent on the German wars in exertions more likely to reduce his enemies to a reasonable peace. Bute intimated his doubts whether the king would consent to this system. But Bute was also distressed with another doubt, which was, that the present ministers might themselves “have an eye that way,” and recommend the very plan which he and Bubb Dodington hoped to have the credit of. His lordship, however, consoled himself with the certainty that ministers were not united in plans or feelings, and that while the Duke of Newcastle sincerely wished for peace at any price, and would go any lengths to obtain it, Mr. Pitt was resolved to stay in office no longer than the war should last, and was, in fact, already meditating a retreat.

A.D. 1761.—In the meanwhile great court was paid to Bute by all who longed for peerages, court places, or promotions in the army or navy: and the business of parliament proceeded smoothly. The civil list was fixed at the clear annual sum of 800,000*l.* payable out of the aggregate fund instead of the specific revenues previously devoted to that object. Nineteen millions were unhesitatingly voted as supplies for prosecuting the war. Two hundred thousand pounds were granted to our colonies in America as compensation for the expenses they

had incurred and the efforts they had made in the present war—a war which laid some of the ground-works of the independence those colonies claimed a few years later. Towards the close of the session, on the 3rd of March, his majesty, in a speech from the throne, recommended an important improvement. By the act passed in the year 1701, under the reign of William III., the commissions of the judges were continued *quoadvis bene se gesserint*, or the power of displacing them was taken from the crown, and their continuance in their important offices was made dependent solely on their own good conduct; but at the demise of the crown their offices terminated and became vacant by law. George now declared his wish to render the bench still more independent, and the administration of justice still more impartial; and he recommended that provision should be made to continue their commissions and their salaries without any reference to the death of one king or the accession of another. A bill was immediately framed for this purpose and carried through both Houses: it received the royal assent on the 19th of March, when his majesty put an end to the session. On the same day Mr. Legge, whom we have seen co-partner with Mr. Pitt in patriotism or popularity, was dismissed from the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord Barrington put in his place; and on the same day Lord Holderness, having secured a pecuniary indemnification with the reversion of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, resigned the office of secretary of state, which was immediately given to the Earl of Bute. It was reported that the king had said, “he was tired of having two secretaries, of which one (Pitt) *would* do nothing, and the other (Holderness) *could* do nothing; and that he would have a secretary who both could and would act.” The Duke of Newcastle is said to have rejoiced in the fall of Holderness, and to have made his terms with Lord Bute. That favourite took for his under-secretary Mr. Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool, and consented to leave the manage-

ment of foreign affairs in the hands of Pitt; but at the same time both he and his royal master intimated that an end *must* be put to the war.*

As the parliament could only exercise its functions for six months after the death of the late king, a proclamation was issued on the 21st of March, dissolving it and calling a new one. Bute made arrangements with Newcastle as to the management of elections, or, in the broad words of the craft, "he settled the new parliament with the duke."† The eyes of all the Tories were fixed hopefully upon the prevailing favourite, who had credit for far more energy and ability than he ever possessed.

John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, was originally a very poor Scottish nobleman. He had received a part of his education at Eton; and in 1737, when in his twenty-fourth year, he was first introduced to public life by being elected one of the sixteen representative peers for Scotland. In the course of the same year he was appointed one of the lords commissioners of police in his native kingdom, and was first introduced to Frederick Prince of Wales, the father of George III., who was charmed with his acting in the part of Lothario, in the 'Fair Penitent,' and invited him to Kew and Leicester House. The warm favour of the prince was only exceeded by that of the princess his wife. His royal highness was accustomed to say frequently that Bute was a fine showy man, and would make an excellent ambassador in a court *where there was no business to do*.‡ His lordship is thus described by the Earl of Waldegrave, who knew him well, and was fully competent to judge him:—"Bute has a good person, fine legs, and a theatrical air of the greatest importance. There is an extraordinary appearance of wisdom both in his looks and manner of speaking; for whether the subject be serious or trifling, he is equally pompous, slow, and sententious.

* Horace Walpole, Letters to G. Montague.—Dodington's Diary.—Annual Register.

† Dodington's Diary.

‡ Waldegrave's Memoirs.

Not contented with being wise, he would be thought a polite scholar and a man of great erudition; but has the misfortune never to succeed except with those who are exceedingly ignorant: for his historical knowledge is chiefly taken from tragedies, wherein he is very deeply read; and his classical learning extends no further than a French translation."* He continued to charm the prince's court by playing *Lothario*, and in 1738 he was made Knight of the Thistle, and one of the lords of Frederick's bedchamber. On the sudden death of the Prince of Wales he retired for a time into the country; but it was said, and universally believed, that he retained an unbounded influence over the princess-dowager, and directed or prescribed to her the rules she was to follow in educating her son George, the heir to the throne. He soon returned to the "pouting place of princes," (Leicester House). In the year 1755, his close intimacy with the princess-dowager was one of the commonest subjects of scandal. Notwithstanding the rumours which must inevitably have reached her ears, the princess-dowager continued her intimacy and her unlimited confidence, and by her good offices Bute also became the avowed favourite of the young prince, who was unsociable and shy from the united effects of temperament and education, but disposed to cling closely to the few persons that constantly surrounded him. When a separate establishment was formed (in the year 1756), the great point aimed at by himself and his mother was, to place Bute at the head of it. They had many difficulties to overcome, but eventually the old king's consent was forced from him, and the double favourite was made groom of the stole. From that moment Bute hardly ever suffered Prince George to be out of his sight, and all observers were convinced that in the new reign the groom of the stole would be prime minister.

On ascending the throne George was only in his twenty-third year. A few months after his accession he

* Memoirs.

married, and from that time his fidelity to his consort was as remarkable as his previous continence. The princess he selected, and who became the mother of his numerous family, was Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg Strelitz, second daughter of the late duke; and to this lady he was united on the evening of the 8th of September. Like George, Charlotte was decorous, devout, rigid in the observance of the moral duties; and those who love or admire them least can scarcely deny that they contributed to a great and striking reformation of manners. The king even in these young days had a strong predilection for a quiet, domestic, country life, and the practical operations of farming. Since the death of the late king the events of the war had been very various. Though he had so speedily driven the Russians and Austrians from his capital, Frederick the Great had still to contend with those two powers on his own territory, and with the French on the side of the Rhine, while the Swedes continued to threaten fresh invasions. But, shaking off a momentary despondency, this wonderful man was planning fresh campaigns when news arrived that George II. was dead—that his successor was anxious for peace—that some of his ministers or advisers were projecting a separate treaty with France—and that there was every probability that the English subsidies would not be continued, as Lord Bute was of opinion that a peace would be best brought about by not supplying the King of Prussia with the means of continuing the war. And, in effect, though the British parliament in the month of December (1760) had granted the subsidy, the money was slowly, reluctantly, and imperfectly paid, and it was the last subsidy they ever voted for Frederick. The great battle of Torgau, the last in which Frederick commanded in person, and in which, though victorious, he lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, upwards of ten thousand men, was fought towards the end of 1760. It gave him once more the command of all Saxony, and before he went into winter-quarters he had the satisfaction of knowing that the Austrians and the Swedes had cleared out of Brandenburg, Silesia, and Pomerania, and that

the Russians had again retired beyond the Vistula. But his losses in men had been prodigious, his coffers were empty, his recruiting difficult, and he looked forward with doubt and anxiety to the campaign of the present year, 1761. This campaign was opened early in February by his general, Prince Ferdinand, who, by a sudden attack, drove the French out of their quarters near Cassel. Soon after this advantage the Prussian general, Sybourg, effected a junction with the Hanoverian general, Sparken; took three thousand French prisoners; and in the month of April, still in union with Sparken, defeated the troops of the empire under General Clefeld. Prince Ferdinand followed up these advantages by laying siege simultaneously to Cassel, Marbourg, and Ziegenhayn; but he failed in all these attempts, and was compelled to retire into the electorate of Hanover. At the same time the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who had advanced towards Frankfort, was totally defeated by the French under Broglie. At this moment Frederick had certain information that the English were negotiating with the French, and he appears to have been for some time uncertain as to the turn these negotiations might take. Broglie remained inactive till the month of July, when he was joined by the Prince of Soubise with large reinforcements. He then endeavoured to drive Prince Ferdinand and the combined army of English and Hanoverians from their entrenched camp at Hohenower, which was defended by a river in front, and by rugged bushy ground on one of its flanks. He began a furious attack on Lord Granby's posts on the evening of the 15th of July; but though the English troops were left for some time without any support, to sustain by themselves the concentrated attack, he was repulsed with terrible loss, and driven into the woods. On the following morning, at an early hour, Broglie, with Soubise and nearly the whole mass of his forces, repeated the attack, beginning again with Lord Granby's posts. After a murderous fire, continued for upwards of five hours, the French fell into disorder and retreated on all points, leaving behind them their wounded and several pieces of cannon. Broglie and

Soubise, who never agreed, now accused each other. It was this fierce dissension and ill-will between the two commanders that checked the French much more than the defeat they had sustained. At length they determined to divide their forces and act separately. The rest of the campaign looked more like marauding than war: the French took and plundered some weak, defenceless towns, failed in all their attempts upon fortified places, fought no battles, and went into winter-quarters—Brogie at Cassel, Soubise on the Lower Rhine. Frederick, who had taken the field in the month of April, went into Silesia, where the important fortress of Schweidnitz was once more threatened by an Austrian army under General Laudon. On the approach of his Prussian majesty Laudon halted, fell back, and then threw himself into Bohemia, intending to wait there until fresh columns of Russians, under Marshal Butterlin, should reach the frontiers of Silesia, and another Russian horde, under Romanzow, should re-occupy Pomerania. The Russians in both instances were true to their appointments; but when Butterlin was in Silesia, Frederick, with only 50,000 men, threw himself between that marshal, who had 70,000 men, and Laudon, who had 60,000, and for some time, and with wonderful skill, prevented their junction. At length, however—but not before the 12th of August,—Butterlin and Laudon joined near Striegau. They then conceived that they could hem in Frederick and prevent the possibility of his escape. But his Prussian majesty threw himself into his well-prepared and admirably-fortified camp of Buntzelwitz, and from behind its tremendous chain of works he laughed Russians and Austrians to scorn. The allies attempted to blockade him, but there was nothing for them to eat—the country, wasted by long war, was bare of everything, and men and horses soon began to feel the effects of famine. They expected, indeed, 5000 provision-waggons, but these were all taken by a flying column of Prussians, led by General Platen, who, moreover, cut the troops that escorted the waggons to pieces, and destroyed three of the largest magazines the Russians had established on the borders of

Poland. At this dismal news Butterlin and Laudon broke suddenly away from their blockade of the camp of Buntzelwitz, and, separating, the Russian marched into Pomerania, while the Austrian retired to an entrenched camp near Fribourg. It was now the middle of September. At the end of the month Frederick marched towards Upper Silesia—a most unfortunate move—for Laudon rushed from his entrenched camp, made by night a general assault upon Schweidnitz, and took that important place by storm. This enabled the Austrians, for the first time since the beginning of the war, to take up their winter-quarters in Silesia. In another direction the Russians, assisted by the Swedes, took Colberg, which enabled them to winter in Pomerania and the new March of Brandenburg. Frederick seemed at last succumbing.

Without learning wisdom from the past, Pitt had insisted on another paltry descent on the French coast; and, in the month of March, a secret expedition, under the command of Commodore Keppel, with troops on board under General Hodgson, sailed across the Channel. The point selected was Belleisle, on the coast of Brittany; and there the troops attempted to land on the 8th of April. They were foiled, and lost a considerable number of men; but a second attempt was more successful, and after a long siege of a petty fortress we remained masters of that useless island. The negotiations between the courts of London and Versailles did not, during their progress, retard our military operations. Early in the year, Pondicherry, the capital settlement of the French in the East Indies, and their last stronghold, surrendered at discretion to the British troops under Colonel Coote, after the garrison and inhabitants had been reduced to live upon dogs, cats, rats, and other vermin.

In the month of July Mr. Stanley was despatched to Paris, and the Count de Bussy came over to London, when preliminaries were mutually proposed and examined. But the demands of France were soon declared to be inadmissible.

At this time the throne of Spain was no longer occupied by the pacific Ferdinand VI., who, through his

wife, Barbara of Portugal, had contracted a predilection for England. That sovereign died in 1759, about a year before George II., of hypochondria or absolute insanity, produced by grief, for the loss of his beloved wife. As he left no children the crown of Spain devolved on his half-brother Charles, king of Naples. Leaving his Italian throne to his third son, Ferdinand—for Don Philip, his eldest son, was epileptic and imbecile; and Charles, his second, was destined to succeed his father in Spain,—Charles repaired thither and ascended the Spanish throne as Charles III., at a critical juncture. Though by habit, natural disposition, and interest, disposed to be almost as peaceful as his predecessor, Charles had none of his brother's English predilections. The insult offered to him in his Neapolitan capital by an English fleet, in 1742, when Commodore Martin forced him to sign a neutrality, and only allowed him an hour to decide, had rankled in his mind ever since. Instead of the strict and impartial neutrality which had hitherto been observed, he began to favour the French on all opportunities, and to listen to their adroit agents, who represented that, when England had swept their fleets from the ocean, they would not long respect those of the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon; and that, when the proud islanders had possessed themselves of all the French colonies in the East Indies, West Indies, and North America, they would assuredly covet and attack Mexico and Peru, and all the Spanish settlements in South America. It is possible, however, that Charles would long have avoided committing himself with England if France had not tempted him with the offer of Minorca, and the prospect of recovering Gibraltar; but this latter lure was irresistible to a Spanish sovereign, and, with his eyes fixed upon it and dazzled by it, Charles III., consented not only to allow his name to be used in the diplomatic notes of France, but also to strengthen and give virtual efficacy to a Family Compact by preparing armies and fleets. Immediately after replying to Bussy, Pitt, as foreign secretary, commanded the British ambassador at Madrid, Lord Bristol, to inquire what these preparations

meant. Mr. Wall, an Irish adventurer, who had attained to be the leading minister in the Spanish cabinet, answered Bristol in a high or insolent tone, taking care, however, to aver that his Catholic majesty's intentions were pacific. Immediately after this answer to the English ambassador the Family Compact was signed at Versailles. The French and Spanish monarchs agreed to consider *every power as their common enemy who might become the enemy of either*, and to guarantee the respective dominions, in all parts of the world, which they might possess *at the conclusion of peace*. They engaged to afford *mutual succours by sea and land*.

Although the precise wording of the articles remained a secret, the nature and object of the treaty were thoroughly known to Pitt, and might also have been known to Bute. Full of the subject and its obvious consequences, Pitt represented at the council-table that Spain was only waiting for the arrival of her annual Plate fleet from America, and for the completion of her preparations, to declare war; and he boldly proposed that we should anticipate her by declaring war ourselves, and by sending out a fleet to intercept her ships and treasures from the Western World—treasures which, if allowed to arrive in Spain, would only be employed to our mischief. Nor did his scheme end here: he pressed for an immediate attack upon their colonies, for the capture of the Havannah, for the occupation of the isthmus of Panama, and for an expedition thence against Manilla and the Philippine Isles, which should interrupt the communication between the South American continent and the rich regions of the East. But Bute felt or pretended an easy incredulity as to the determined hostile intentions of Spain and the real meaning of the treaty signed at Versailles; and the king himself declared that he had the strongest objections to the scheme. Thus finding himself thwarted, Pitt indignantly declared that he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide, and, delivering his reasons in writing, he begged permission to resign the seals of secretary. Lord Temple, his brother-

in-law, followed his example. On the 6th of October, when Pitt delivered up his seals into his sovereign's own hands, he was affected even to tears by the young king's kindness of manner. And the very next day his majesty intimated to him, through Lord Bute, that he would confer on him the sinecure government of the Canadas, with a salary of 5000*l.* a-year; or the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster with an equally high salary. Pitt instantly penned a strange, but meaning letter to Bute. He requested his lordship to lay him "at the royal feet, with the humble tribute of the most unfeigned and respectful gratitude;" declared that he was penetrated, overwhelmed, confounded with the extent of his majesty's gracious goodness and bounteous favour—but doubted whether he ought to accept either of the offices mentioned, or whether, considering that which he had resigned, he ought to go again into any office whatever. But in the next paragraph of his letter he more plainly suggested the nature of the reward he wanted, which was a pension that should not die with him, but survive in his family, and a title for his wife.* No time was lost in gratifying him in his own way: a pension of 3000*l.* a-year was settled on Mr. Pitt for three lives, and a peerage was conferred on his wife Lady Hester and her issue; and the 'Gazette' the next day announced the resignation and the honours and rewards together; publishing at the same time a letter from our ambassador at Madrid, brim full of the pacific intentions and friendly assurances of Spain. The title and the pension did, indeed, obscure the popularity of the patriot-minister with many mists and clouds, but a few of his thunder-storms in opposition soon cleared the atmosphere, and he was not, like ordinary minds, to be borne down by any weight of gratitude to royalty, or by imputations or suspicions of any kind. His friends and partisans began at once to raise the most violent clamours against Bute for

* Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; edited by William Stanhope Taylor, Esq., and Captain John Henry Pringle, executors to his son John, Earl of Chatham.

displacing a minister who had carried on the war with such signal success, and elevated the nation from the most abject state to the pinnacle of glory.

The year, however, had not closed ere the ministers who remained found that a rupture with Spain was inevitable, and that by not following Pitt's schemes they had enabled that power to strengthen herself for war. The first intimation was detected by the loud and threatening tone of the court of Versailles. Our cabinet issued a formal declaration of war, to which Spain immediately responded. The coronation of their majesties took place at Westminster Abbey, on the 22nd of September of this year.

In the month of December the king went down to the House of Peers and gave the royal assent to the bill for settling Queen Charlotte's dowry. When the act passed, her majesty, who was present, and placed on a chair of state on the king's right hand, rose up and made her obeisance to the king. The grant, in case of her majesty's surviving the king, was liberally fixed at 100,000*l.* per annum, with Somerset House and the Lodge in Richmond Park.

A.D. 1762.—Lord Egremont, who had been appointed by Lord Bute to the vacant secretaryship, was forced for some time to walk in the very steps which Pitt had chalked out; and the cabinet generally had to follow that minister's mutilated scheme against Spain—mutilated by themselves, because they would not begin in time. Early in the year an expedition was prepared against the Havannah, and on the 5th of March it sailed from Portsmouth under the command of General Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pococke. It was joined in the West Indies by a strong squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas, and, sailing through the Bahama Straits, it arrived off the Havannah on King George's birth-day (4th of June). It presented an imposing total of 19 ships of the line, 18 frigates and smaller vessels, and 150 transports, having on board 10,000 land troops. A landing was effected with little or no opposition, and siege was laid at once to the Moro—the strong fort which defended the harbour,

and which was considered impregnable. Great difficulties were encountered in making the approaches on a hard, rocky soil; and the English troops suffered severely from fatigue, sickness, and the fire of the enemy. But fresh reinforcements arrived from New York and our West Indian islands; a detachment of seamen and 800 marines were landed from the fleet; three ships of the line (the *Dragon*, *Cambridge*, and *Marlborough*) bombarded the place one day from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon: the fort was isolated from the town, and on the forty-fourth day of the siege it was stormed through a narrow and perilous breach, and carried at the point of the bayonet. The defence of the Spaniards was as heroic as the assault. Don Louis de Velasco, the governor, and his second in command, died in the breach. The city of Havannah held out a fortnight longer; but on the 13th of August it capitulated, and was yielded up with 180 miles of country to the westward, or all the best part of the island of Cuba. Nine Spanish ships of the line, fit for sea, and three frigates, were taken in the harbour; three ships of the line and a galleon had been sunk previously, and two destroyed on the stocks. The booty that fell into the hands of the victors was estimated altogether at 3,000,000*l.* sterling. The occupation of the Havannah gave us the absolute command of the passage pursued by the Plate fleets of Spain, and seemed to lay the wealth and glory of that empire at our feet.* The isthmus of Panama was not seized, but the Philippines were attacked. Admiral Cornish, with a small fleet, took on board at Madras 2300 men commanded by Colonel William Draper,† and appeared suddenly off Manilla, the capital of Luconia and of the surrounding isles—a place almost as important in the east as was Havannah in the west. Draper threw his forces on shore, and took

* Despatches from Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pococke, in *Ann. Reg.*

† Vice-Admiral Cornish was on the East India station, but Draper, who had been patronised by Pitt, was sent out from England as an officer on whose intelligence and bravery government could depend.

possession of the suburbs of Manilla before the Spaniards were well aware that their king was at war with the English. The archbishop was governor and supreme head of the island ; and, like ecclesiastics of earlier ages, he could fight as well as say mass. He put himself in the most warlike attitude that circumstances would permit, called up the native Indians to harass the assailants in their rear, and with about 800 Spanish regulars opposed their approaches in front. But his poor Indians, armed for the most part with bows and spears, were cut to pieces ; and the works of Manilla were carried by storm on the 6th of October, the twelfth day after the landing. Draper's forces, in which there were more Sepoys and Lascars than native British, began to plunder and destroy, and to subject the unfortunate place to all the horrors of war. But the inner citadel, in which the archbishop had thrown himself, still remained untaken ; and, in treating for its surrender, his eminence proposed that, in consideration of a fixed ransom, the lives, liberties, and properties of all private parties should be spared by the conquerors. Draper, who piqued himself on his scholarship, drew up the terms of capitulation in Latin, agreeing to accept as a ransom for the inhabitants two millions of dollars in an assignment on the Spanish treasury at Madrid. This paper was signed by the governor-archbishop ; but doubts seem to have been entertained from the beginning whether the two millions of dollars which Draper had latinized would ever be paid. Several ships, some artillery, and a considerable quantity of military stores, with all public property whatsoever, became the immediate prize of the captors, who, moreover, succeeded in taking a great Manilla and Acapulco galleon, the Santa Trinidad, valued at three millions of dollars.* Without further resistance the whole group of islands submitted to the English flag.†

* They, however, missed the richer galleon, the Santa Philipina, after beating after her, in the teeth of the monsoon, for three months !

† Official Letters from Sir William Draper.—Schomberg, —Naval Chronology.—Ann. Reg.

A series of attacks on the remaining French West India islands was equally successful. Martinique, the chief of the French Caribbees, an important point in a naval and military view, was reduced, in the month of February, by an army under General Monckton and a squadron under Admiral Rodney; and this conquest was speedily followed by the surrender of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago; and thus we remained in possession of the entire chain of the Caribbees.

But, long before Madrid was thrown into consternation by the arrival of the news of the loss of the Havannah and Manilla, the Spanish court had begun a land campaign on the continent of Europe with a seeming prospect of most brilliant success. Then, as at a later period, both France and Spain chose to consider the King of Portugal as the creature of the King of England, and to advance as a principle the necessity and propriety of compelling the Portuguese to renounce their English alliance. That country had taken no part in the war, and was at the moment observing a strict neutrality; but she was thought to be weak as the lamb, and Spain and France quarrelled with her in the fashion of the wolf. Though so often foiled and frustrated in the attempt, the statesmen of Spain had never given up the hope of incorporating Portugal politically, as it was geographically, with the larger kingdom. At this crisis the kingdom of Portugal was impoverished and disheartened; her army—if such it could be called—did not exceed 20,000 men, badly disciplined and miserably equipped; her fortresses were in ruins; her fleet was reduced to six ships of the line and a few frigates. Charles III. began the attack on the north of the Douro with an army of 22,000 men, commanded by the Marquis of Suria, who presently took Braganza, Miranda, and Torre de Moncorvo. But, on drawing nearer to Oporto, Suria was checked by the militia and the brave peasantry, who, assisted and directed by some British officers, maintained an incessant and destructive war of posts. Another body of 8000 Spaniards, however, succeeded in penetrating south of the Douro into Beira, and in taking post near Almeida.

But succour was at hand: the court of Lisbon, in the depth of its distress, had applied to England for money, arms, ammunition, stores, and troops; and the prayers of an old and faithful ally were promptly attended to, the House of Commons voting 1,000,000*l.* sterling to enable his majesty to assist the Portuguese. Eight thousand British troops, commanded by Lord Tyrawley, the Earl of Loudon, General Townshend, Lord George Lennox, and Brigadiers Crawford and Burgoyne, landed in Portugal. Lord Tyrawley soon grew disgusted with the service, the people, and the country, and retired in a very lordly rage: the Earl of Loudon was not of much more use; and the native Portuguese army consented to submit to the command of the Count de la Lippe, an active and experienced German officer, who had commanded the artillery of the British army in Germany. Lippe collected the principal part of the Portuguese forces at Puente de Marcello, to prevent the advance of the Spaniards in the north; and, while the Spaniards south of the Douro were occupied in the siege of Almeida, he detached Brigadier Burgoyne to fall upon Valencia d'Alcantara, on the frontiers of Spain, where large magazines were said to be collected for the purpose of an invasion along the Tagus. Burgoyne, who displayed activity and gallantry, struck across the mountains by Castel da Vida, and, making a forced march of five days through a most rugged and difficult country, he carried Valencia d'Alcantara by a *coup de main*, taking a Spanish major-general with all his staff, a great quantity of arms and ammunition, and all the flour and forage in store there. He also levied a considerable contribution in money; and then, without impediment and with inconsiderable loss, retraced his steps to Lippe, at Puente de Marcello. Almeida surrendered to the Count d'Aranda after a siege of nine days; but Burgoyne's expedition kept the Portuguese in heart, divided the attention, and baffled the plans of the Spaniards. Having left garrisons in Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, the Count d'Aranda marched away for Castel Branco, with the evident intention of crossing the Tagus at Villa Velha into the Alemtejo. But Lippe,

moving with greater rapidity, got to Abrantes, the key of Portugal on the Tagus, and posted strong detachments under the Count de St. Jago and Burgoyne at the pass of Alvite and at Niza, to obstruct the passage of the river at Villa Velha; and, when the Spaniards came up, they found these positions occupied. D'Aranda attacked the old Moorish castle of Villa Velha, and got possession of it in a few days in spite of Burgoyne's protecting fire of artillery across the river; and the Count de St. Jago was driven from the pass of Alvite. But, while the Spaniards were pursuing the count and his Portuguese across the mountains towards Codigos, thus weakening their corps at Villa Velha, Burgoyne threw a detachment under Colonel Lee across the Tagus in the darkness of night; and, while the Spaniards were amused by a feigned attack in front from Niza, Lee entered their quarters in the rear without being perceived till his own musketry and bayonets told the secret. The Spaniards were routed at once with terrible slaughter, and, having destroyed their magazines and spiked or taken their guns, Lee and his men returned to the other side of the Tagus loaded with booty and surrounded by prisoners. After this brilliant affair there was little more fighting: the French invading forces, which d'Aranda had expected to co-operate with him, were nowhere seen or heard of, his provisions began to run short, the autumnal rains to descend in torrents, the peasantry to block up every road and massacre all his out-posts; and, dismantling the few fortresses he had taken, he retreated with little honour to his own country. Such, within ten short months, were the bitter fruits derived by Spain from the war into which she had so unnecessarily thrown herself; and to all these serious reverses and losses was added the capture by the English of the *Hermione*, a register-ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, with treasure on board that amounted to nearly a million sterling. She was taken off Cape St. Vincent, when near the end of her voyage, by two of our frigates. It was ships and prizes like these—it was the traditions of former times, and the tales of dollars and doubloons—it was the certainty of most abun-

dant prize-money, that always rendered a war with Spain so popular in our navy; and it was the knowledge of these circumstances, the sad recollection of past losses, and the conviction that the English fleets, like a wasp's nest broke loose, could sting in a hundred places at once, that rendered a war with England so unpopular with the Spanish people, and gave origin to their constant cry—"Peace with England, and war with all the world!" The only one of our enterprises against Spain which failed this year was a paltry, ill-conceived expedition to Buenos-Ayres—a place which seems destined to be a black spot in our military annals.* Our ally, Frederick of Prussia, was relieved when his fortune seemed at the lowest ebb by the death of the Czarina Elizabeth, one of the most powerful of his enemies; and certainly the bitterest. Elizabeth died on the 5th of January: by the beginning of February her nephew, Peter III., had opened negotiations with Frederick; by the 16th of March a treaty of peace was concluded between them; and by the 5th of May a close alliance was contracted, by which about 20,000 men of the Russian army which had been serving with the Austrians against the Prussians were put at the disposition of Frederick to serve with the Prussians against the Austrians. As soon as the English cabinet, or that part of it which submitted to Bute, knew that Frederick was freed from the dangerous enmity of Russia, they pretended that that circumstance alone ought to excuse them from the payment of any further subsidies; and they reminded his Prussian Majesty that he had himself assured them that if once he was secured by the neutrality of Russia he should have little occasion for any further assistance from England. And now he had not merely the neutrality, but the friendship of Russia, together with every prospect of the neutrality of Sweden.† The old Duke of Newcastle, however, would not admit

* Coxe, *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon*; *Despatches and Official Accounts*.—*Annual Register*.

† Lord Dover, *Life of Frederick II.*—*Voltaire, Louis XV.*

the validity of this reasoning, maintaining that Frederick ought to have the money he was demanding, and that England was bound in honour to make a new subsidy. We believe, at the same time, that for other obvious reasons this aged minister was sick of office and tired of changes and subterfuges, which seemed to leave him more and more in dependence on the favourite, and in the utter inability of helping himself or his own friends or party. At the end of April, Newcastle waited on Lord Bute and declared his intention to resign unless the subsidy were granted. Bute—as his manner was with all men except the sovereign—answered coolly and drily, saying, “that if the money were granted the peace might be retarded;” but he never requested him to continue in office, nor said one of those civil things which the advanced age, the long services, and the high rank of the duke seemed to entitle him to. Yet in former days Bute had bowed to Newcastle as to a god. His grace went forthwith to St. James’s; demanded an audience of the king, who was much more civil than the favourite had been, resigned his office, and *refused a pension*, which was offered as a reward for his services, and for the large sacrifices made out of his private fortune since he had been minister. He then retired, a comparatively poor man, to find how solitary and deserted could be the mansion of an ex-minister.* Lord Bute instantly stepped into his post of first lord of the treasury, or prime minister, leaving the secretaryship he had held to Mr. George Grenville, who had separated his interest from those of his brother-in-law, Mr. Pitt. Bubb Dodington, who had been the go-between for Newcastle and

* Horace Walpole, Letters to the Earl of Hertford and G. Montague.—Chatham Correspondence.

When, in 1768, the old Duke of Newcastle quitted life and politics together, Lord Chesterfield thus noticed his decease: —“My old kinsman and contemporary is at last dead, and, for the first time, quiet. After all the offices which he had held for fifty years, he died 300,000*l.* poorer than he was when he came into them. A very unministerial proceeding.”—*Letters*.

Bute, died about this time, having obtained from George III., or from the favourite, the peerage which had been so long the object of his ambition, but not having worn his blushing honours of Baron Melcombe, of Melcombe Regis, quite a year, and leaving no son to succeed him.

Backed by Russia and in friendship with Sweden, which concluded a peace with him towards the end of May, Frederick boasted that he was in possession of more advantages than he could have derived from gaining three pitched battles; and, without the English subsidy, though bitterly complaining of the want of it, he took the field. But, before his columns defiled to go to the reconquest of Schweidnitz and Silesia, the admiration and imitation which he had excited in Peter III. had proved fatal to that unhappy prince, or had, at least, very materially contributed to precipitate Peter from a throne to a dungeon and mysterious grave: another revolution had happened in Russia—sudden, treacherous, and bloody, and with a mixture of womanly intrigue and lust, in the manner of that country. His tragical catastrophe, however, might have been far distant but for his own wife, Catherine, Princess of Anhalt Zerbst, who had the fortune to charm the Russians as much as he disgusted them. This most able and remorseless woman was induced to believe that Peter had discovered her adulterous connexion with Count Gregory Orloff, and entertained the design of divorcing and imprisoning her, and raising to the Imperial throne his own favourite mistress, Elizabeth, Countess of Woronzow. On the 27th of June (o.s.) habited like a man, Catherine harangued the guards and proceeded with them to the church of the Virgin Mary of Casan, where the clergy welcomed her as a deliverer, and where a vast concourse of troops and nobles joined her. The Archbishop of Novogorod performed divine service, and administered to Catherine, as sole empress, the oath usually taken on the accession of Russian sovereigns. Her oath was succeeded by precipitate oaths of allegiance from all present in the church. She then repaired to the senate, which acknowledged her right, and swore allegiance at once. All the adherents of her

husband were arrested. No sovereign was so deeply interested in this sudden revolution as Frederick, who apprehended that he should find in the Empress Catherine an enemy as implacable as her predecessor, Elizabeth. In effect, the Russian troops serving with him were instantly recalled; but here all signs of difference or enmity ceased, and Catherine restored the Prussian territories which had been occupied by Elizabeth, and promised a strict neutrality. Breathing again, Frederick sent the Duke of Bevern and the Prince of Wurtemberg to defeat Marshal Daun at Reichenbach, and he wound up the campaign by taking Schweidnitz, gaining by the means of his brother Henry the crowning victory of Freyberg, and driving the Austrians into Bohemia. The campaign of the allied armies under Prince Ferdinand and the Marquess of Granby had led to the reduction of Cassel, the salvation of Hanover, and the expulsion of the French from Hesse—events that were followed by the thorough despondency of the French cabinet.

The successes of the war had not rendered Lord Bute a whit the less anxious and impatient for peace; and his pacific intentions were certainly at this moment encouraged by the feeling and voice of the English people. Having sounded indirectly some of the French cabinet, Bute ventured to engage the neutral King of Sardinia to propose to the Court of Versailles a resumption of the negotiations; and Louis XV. no sooner had a hint of these propositions than he embraced them and clung to them like a drowning man to a spar. The negotiations proceeded so rapidly that preliminaries for peace were signed at Fontainebleau on the 3rd of November, the negotiators leaving the affairs of Germany to be settled separately by the King of Prussia and the Empress Queen.

By this treaty of Fontainebleau France formally ceded Canada with all its dependencies, together with Cape Breton and all other islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, stipulating that the French Roman Catholics of Canada should enjoy the right of exercising their religion under their English rulers, and that such of them as

chose should be at liberty to quit the country within a limited time : she resigned all pretensions to Nova Scotia or Acadia, where the quarrel which led to the war had begun : she recognised the limits and lines of demarcation carefully drawn by the English negotiators, so as to preclude any future misunderstanding. In the West Indies she resigned the islands of Tobago, Dominique, St. Vincent, and the Grenadas, upon condition of getting back Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Desseade, and St. Lucie ; on the coast of Africa she ceded Senegal and its dependencies, to get back Goree : in the East Indies she bound herself to acknowledge the native rulers set up by the English, and never to erect any fortifications in Bengal ; but on these conditions her factories and settlements were all restored to her, to be held merely as depôts and places of trade ; in the Mediterranean she restored Minorca to England, upon condition of our giving up our short and useless conquest of Belleisle ; and she submitted to the introduction in the treaty of the old diplomatic formula, the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk. France was permitted to catch and dry fish on part of the bank of Newfoundland, and to fish in the gulf of St. Lawrence, on condition of not approaching within three leagues of the shore (off Cape Breton she was not to approach within fifteen leagues of the shore) ; and she obtained the small isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon to serve as a shelter to her fishermen under the express covenant of never erecting batteries or keeping more than fifty soldiers there. Spain, crippled by a war which to her had been a very short one, and too happy to be admitted into the treaty, and to recover the Havannah and the Philippines, consented to overlook the grounds of her old quarrels with England, and to refer her maritime disputes about prizes, &c., to the adjudication of the British Court of Admiralty : she bound herself to erase her jealous prohibitions, the cause of such frequent quarrel, in the Bay of Honduras, and consented that British subjects or their workmen should have full liberty to cut logwood and to build houses and warehouses, provided only they erected no new forts and de-

molished those which had been built : she gave up her ancient pretensions to a right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland ; and she ceded in totality the Floridas and all the countries east and south-east of the Mississippi—a most important cession, and which, together with the acquisition of Canada, left the colonies of North America rounded and safe from any foreign foe—an advantage of which the most was made by the drawers and admirers of the treaty, who could scarcely be expected to foresee that it would accelerate a revolution and the independence of those colonies. Spain, which had derived nothing but loss and disgrace from her invasion of Portugal, finally consented to withdraw all her troops from the territories or frontiers of that kingdom, and to restore the colony of Sacramento, on the Río de la Plata, which she had taken from the Portuguese.*

But it was soon found that the Opposition, organized and led by Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, were in no humour to approve a peace of Bute's making. A fierce war of words ensued. Bute, who was no orator—whose words fell from him slowly like minute-guns,—undertook to defend the work of his own hands in the House of Lords ; and Mr. Fox, Pitt's old rival, who had gladly remained in his lucrative place of paymaster of the forces, led in the House of Commons. Pitt, suffering from the gout and wrapped up in flannels, went down to the Commons and denounced the whole tenor of the treaty as derogatory to the honour of England, as unsafe, impolitic, unsound. He said, afflicted as he was with illness, he came at the hazard of his life to attend the House that day—to raise up his voice, his hand, his arm, against the preliminary articles of a treaty which obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith by an abandonment of our allies. Fox replied with less eloquence, but with better arguments. He was supported by George Grenville, and the ministerial majority was certain and large. The definitive treaty was there-

* Koch, *Histoire des Traités*.—Annual Register.

fore signed, and commercial communications were opened with France. Pitt had declared that the desertion of the King of Prussia, the most magnanimous ally England ever had, was insidious, base, and treacherous; yet we had stipulated in the preliminaries that the French should evacuate Wesel, Cleves, and Guelders; and, left with scarcely any other enemies than Austria and Saxony, Frederick, who had baffled nearly all Europe, might well be considered in a condition to take care of himself. In fact, Frederick was so powerful as to induce all the princes and states in Germany to sign a declaration of neutrality; and this compelled the Austrians to propose an armistice. The truce was followed by a congress, and the congress by a treaty of peace between Austria, Prussia, Saxony, and Poland. This treaty of Hubertsburg was not signed till the 15th of February of the following year (1763), but its terms were agreed upon before the close of the present year. Frederick retained possession of Silesia and of all other territories whatsoever that belonged to him before the war; and the other powers, who in the beginning of the struggle had hoped to deprive him of everything except the barren sands of Prussia Proper, or Brandenburg, were forced to rest satisfied, each with what he had before the war, without any reparations or reimbursements for the terrible damages they had suffered and the enormous sums they had spent.*

A.D. 1768.—The old Duke of Newcastle made common cause with Pitt; meetings were held at his grace's residence, and the Dukes of Devonshire, Bolton, and Portland, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earls Temple, Cornwallis, Albemarle, Ashburnham, Hardwicke, and Besborough, the Lords Spencer, Sondes, Grantham, and Villiers, Mr. James Grenville, Sir George Saville, and other Whig commoners of rank, talent, or influence, concerted together the means of making the peace odious and the downfall of the favourite certain. Former differences of opinion, whether upon minor or capital points of policy—previous quarrels, slights, and insults—were all

* Koch, Hist. des Traités.

to be forgotten (none of them had so much to forget as old Newcastle!), and coalesced and unanimous they were to fight one battle, and never treat with the enemy till his power was annihilated. Pens, active, pointed, and dipped in gall, were set to work to demonstrate to the nation that in the treaty of Fontainebleau we ought to have retained a great many of the conquests in the East Indies and the West which we restored to France or Spain. Some of these party writers, moreover, took care to hint that such vast sacrifices in diplomacy had not been made without considerations paid by France to the English negotiators; and the hardest among them intimated very plainly that Lord Bute, the king's mother, and the Duke of Bedford, had all touched French gold. Strictures, which from the beginning of the reign had never ceased, upon the close connexion between the Earl of Bute and the princess-dowager, and upon the secluded, shy, retiring habits of the sovereign were now made with more point and bitterness than ever; and the island rang from end to end with epigrams, scandals, and stories.* In the midst of this storm Bute was compelled to propose a loan of three millions and a half, and a new tax to enable government to pay debts contracted during the war. The business of the loan was doubly unfortunate, for, instead of throwing it open to competition, he disposed privately of the shares, which rose almost immediately to 11 per cent. premium; and hence it was inferred that,

* John Wilkes, at the beginning of the present year, 1763, had written an ironical dedication to the Earl of Bute, of Ben Jonson's historical play, entitled 'Fall of Mortimer.' It was excessively severe, and was Wilkes's second political essay. He always considered it his masterpiece.—*Correspondence of the late John Wilkes, Esquire, with Memoirs of his Life, by John Almon.* Wilkes had published in the preceding year a pamphlet entitled 'Observations on the papers relative to the rupture with Spain, laid before both houses of parliament on Friday, January 29th, 1762.' Much of his information on this subject was derived from his friend Lord Temple, whose policy and the policy of Chatham the pamphlet extolled.

at the public expense, he had gratified himself or his own creatures with 350,000*l*. Nor was he more fortunate in his new tax, which came in the shape of a duty of 10*s*. per hogshead on cider and perry, to be paid by the first buyer. No fiscal question had raised such a tempest in the land since Sir Robert Walpole's excise bill in 1733. But Walpole, in the plenitude of his power and abilities, and with wondrous resources at command, bowed deferentially to the popular feeling, and let the scheme sleep. Bute, on the contrary, with a power that had lasted but for a day, and was already undermined, with slender abilities and no resources, was resolutely determined that *his* bill should pass : and it was passed with all its imperfections.

But the cider bill had scarcely passed into law when Bute surprised friends and enemies alike by his suddenly and decidedly tendering his resignation. It is said that the king's astonishment was the greatest of all, and that his majesty requested and implored his prime minister to remain in office, assuring him that no desire of change or submission to that desire in others, no weakness or timidity, should ever induce him to withdraw his honest and strenuous support. But, whatever arguments were used, or whatever were the conduct and feelings of the king, Bute threw up everything, and without asking for pension or sinecure proudly and silently withdrew on the 8th of April, 1763. When people recovered a little from their surprise, they speculated very freely on the motives which had led to his retreat. Some of the most passionate admirers of the great orator of the day said, that Pitt had killed him politically. Others gave the credit of the victory over him to Mr. Wilkes and his paper, the 'North Briton.' But Bute's own account is entitled to some credit; and the reason he gave for resigning was simply this—he found himself powerless in his own cabinet. He said to a friend—"Single in a cabinet of my own forming; no aid in the House of Lords to support me, except two peers (Lords Denbigh and Pomfret); both the secretaries of state silent, and the lord chief justice, whom I myself brought into office,

voting for me yet speaking against me ; the ground I tread upon is so hollow that I am afraid, not only of falling myself but of involving my royal master in my ruin. It is time for me to retire !” He was followed by Sir Francis Dashwood, his incompetent chancellor of the exchequer,* and by Mr. Fox, his leader in the House of Commons, who had led a very short time, but who, under various ministerial changes, had kept his most lucrative office of paymaster of the forces, and thereby built up a large fortune. Soon after their retirement both Dashwood and Fox were elevated to the peerage, the former as Baron le Despencer, the latter as Baron Holland. Mr. George Grenville, who had forsaken Pitt and his family connexions to hold office under Bute, now succeeded both to the premiership and to the place which had been occupied by Dashwood, becoming at once first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. From these and other indications it appeared plainly that Bute, though retired from office, still retained the confidence of his sovereign. He had undoubtedly nominated his successor. What followed was inevitable :—Grenville and all the rest of the cabinet were considered as mere puppets that mechanically answered to the strings pulled by Bute. George Grenville, notwithstanding indisputable abilities and much moral worth, certainly proved a fatal legacy : he began an inglorious seven years’ war with Wilkes, and, by originating the Stamp Act, he led to the ruinous war with our American colonies. On first entering into office Lord Bute, at the earnest recommendation of his principal adviser, Bubb Dodington, set up a newspaper, styled ‘The Briton,’ to break the complete ascendancy which Pitt and his party were said to hold over the public press, to advocate the peace, and to justify generally the measures of Bute’s administration. Richard Glover, the author of the heavy

* “Sir Francis Dashwood,” says Wilkes, “afterwards my Lord le Despencer, who, from puzzling all his life at tavern bills, had been called by Lord Bute to administer the finances of a kingdom above one hundred millions in debt, and styled by him, in the royal manner, *my Chancellor*.”

epic poem of 'Leonidas,' and of a deal of patriotism in blank verse, appears to have entered into Bute's party, and to have written in his newspaper; and a staff of other writers was hired to support administration and vilify his opponents. To oppose the Briton, a paper styled 'The North Briton' was set on foot and conducted by John Wilkes, Esq., member of parliament for Aylesbury and colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia, who had been hitherto known as a man of pleasure, wit, and repartee; not very exemplary in his life and morals, but active, enterprising, and daring.* If Wilkes's reputation for wit rested solely upon what he wrote, it would be little worth; but his weapon of force was the tongue, not the pen; his success in conversation and society was immense, and some of his repartees were perhaps the smartest and sharpest things said in that day. In the North Briton his hardihood and scurrility were far more conspicuous than his wit or genius.

Not contented with defaming Bute and all Scotland, Wilkes pointed his pen at the royal family and at the king himself. In the 45th number of the 'North Briton,' published about a fortnight after Bute's resignation, he accused his majesty of uttering a direct falsehood in the speech he pronounced in proroguing parliament. On the 26th of April a general warrant (that is, a warrant in which no person was named, and by authority of which the messengers might seize whomsoever they suspected) was issued from the secretary of state's office. After some delay and sundry blunders committed by the messengers, Wilkes was arrested, and carried before Lord Halifax, one of the secretaries of state. In former times Wilkes had enjoyed the countenance and favour of Mr. Pitt; with Lord Temple his intimacy continued, and at this moment his lordship paid him a visit, and at his request went down to the Court of Common Pleas for a writ of habeas corpus in his

* Wilkes had, at one time, respectable *collaborateurs*. Lord Temple is said to have written in the paper, and the North Briton has been called *the joint publication* of his lordship, Wilkes, and Churchill, the poet.

favour. But before the clerks could prepare the writ, Wilkes, having refused to answer all questions, was hurried in a coach from the secretary's office to the Tower, and committed to close imprisonment. His papers were seized and sealed; and his friends, and even his counsel and solicitor, were refused admittance to him. This happened both to Lord Temple and the Duke of Bolton, who went to see him. His confinement, however, was very short, for on the 3rd of May a second writ of habeas corpus, directed to the constable of the Tower, threw open the strong gates of that fortress, and brought Wilkes before the court in Westminster Hall. The court required time to consider the important question; but three days after (on the 6th of May), when he was brought up a second time, Lord Chief Justice Pratt, delivering the joint opinion of the judges, declared that, though the commitment of Mr. Wilkes and the general warrant were not in themselves illegal, being justified by numerous precedents, yet Mr. Wilkes was entitled to a discharge by virtue of his privilege as a member of parliament—for the privilege of parliament could be forfeited only by treason, felony, or breach of the peace. The prisoner was therefore discharged; but a prosecution was immediately instituted against him by the attorney-general for the libel contained in the 45th number of the 'North Briton.' The king deprived him of his commission as colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia, dismissed his backer, the Earl of Temple, from the lord-lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire, and struck his lordship's name out of the roll of privy councillors. The lord-lieutenancy was at once given to Dashwood, now Lord de Despencer, who had retired from office with Bate. Wilkes had no sooner obtained his liberty and the use of pen, ink, and paper, than he wrote a letter to the secretaries of state, complaining of the treatment he had received, and accusing them of holding in their hands stolen goods, of which his house had been robbed. He printed and circulated this letter; and government committed the folly of writing a reply to it. Considerable and respectable

portions of the opposition in parliament rallied round the author of the 'North Briton,' more or less openly ; and, overlooking various and notorious irregularities of conduct, and many loud accusations, one of which was, that he had dissipated his fortune in extravagance and vicious indulgences, and that his hostility to Bute and the ministry originated in their refusal to employ or pension him, the popular body began to hail, in all places, John Wilkes as the greatest, and bravest, and purest patriot that had blessed the land since the days of Algernon Sydney or of Hampden.

In the month of August the death of Lord Egremont, one of the secretaries of state, deprived George Grenville of his best supporter ; and it soon appeared to himself and to every one else that his government could not stand. *Lord Bute*, on the 25th of August, waited upon *Mr. Pitt* by the king's commands, and endeavoured to mediate the return of the formidable orator to his majesty's service. Pitt would only engage upon his own conditions, and was greatly alarmed lest a report of secret intercourse and underhand dealing with Bute and the court should injure his popularity. Thus, when he consented to Bute's prayer to wait upon his majesty at Buckingham House, he resolved to deprive his visit of all appearance of privacy ; and he went through the Mall in his well-known sedan-chair at noonday. The king was exceedingly kind and frank ; but the negotiation came to nothing. Though desirous of bringing the old Duke of Newcastle, and divers members of the old Whig aristocracy back to office and court, Pitt would not hear of George Grenville being retained in the ministry, and the king had promised to keep him. His Majesty said, " Poor George Grenville ! he is your near relation, and you once loved him." Pitt objected again with a cold and silent movement of the head. The king would not break his promises, and his starch ex-secretary would have his own way or be nothing. Grenville thus remained in office. He sought to strengthen himself by bringing in the Duke of Bedford, who was made president of the council, and his grace's dependent,

Lord Sandwich, who was made a secretary of state in lieu of Lord Egremont, deceased : but both Bedford and Sandwich were very unpopular.

Parliament met on the 15th of November. Mr. George Grenville related what had passed in the arrest and liberation of Wilkes, and laid the libel on the table ; and the Commons, by a majority of 237 against 111, resolved that the paper entitled, 'The North Briton, No. 45,' was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. Wilkes, standing up in his place, declared that the rights of all the Commons of England and the privileges of Parliament had been grossly violated in his person ; and he requested the House to take the question of privileges into immediate consideration. The House adjourned the case of privilege for a week. On the same day Lord Sandwich, the new secretary of state, whose character for morality and religion stood quite as low as that of Wilkes, produced in the House of Lords the copy of a burlesque, indecent poem, entitled 'An Essay on Woman, with Notes by Dr. Warburton,' and attributed to the same pen which wrote 'The North Briton.*' Lord Sandwich, Sir Francis Dashwood, now

* The name of Warburton seems to have been introduced on account of his having copiously annotated Pope's 'Essay on Man,' and a little, perhaps, on account of his not bearing a high character for orthodoxy. Sandwich was made to figure for St. John (Bolingbroke). We never heard or read more than a very few lines of the 'Essay on Woman : ' and that sample appeared to us as dull and pointless as it was gross. As we have said before, Wilkes's wit—and wit he certainly had in abundance—was rather on his tongue than in his pen. Other publications, quite as indecent, had certainly been permitted ; and the 'Essay on Woman,' be it remembered, had never been published at all. We believe the character of that production was correctly given by Thomas Townshend, junior, in a debate on Wilkes's petition for redress in 1769 :—"As to the 'Essay on Woman,' a jocular man would deride it, a serious man would detest it, and both would throw it into the fire, as devoid of both wit and decency."—*Cavendish's Debates.*

Lord le Despencer, their friends, and Thomas Potter Esq., member for Aylesbury, and son to Archbishop Potter, Sir William Stanhope, Sir Thomas Stapleton, with other men of fashion and dissipation, had notoriously led Wilkes into his worst private excesses, had lived with him, and occasionally upon him, as boon companions and brethren in debauchery. They had initiated him into the frowsy indecencies of the Dilettanti Club, held in Palace Yard, and into the more recondite mysteries of Medmenham Abbey, Bucks, where a society—an imitation or revival of the Hell Fire Club of the Duke of Wharton's days—revelled in obscenity and made a mockery of the rites of religion. Over the grand entrance of the house which had once been a Cistercian monastery, was inscribed, "*FAYS CE QUE VOUDRAS.*" (*Do what you will*), and the principal jokes of the members consisted in dressing themselves like monks and drinking wine out of a communion cup to a certain Pagan divinity.* It was chiefly to entertain these men that Wilkes had taken a dear house at the court-end of town, and had incurred expenses which his fortune, crippled by electioneering contests, could ill support. These heroes of profligacy, with Sandwich and Dashwood at their head, had been in the habit of dining at his table, drinking his claret, and encouraging his licentious wit. Yet now Sandwich, as if he had been a very saint, declaimed and exclaimed against the sad profaneness and obscenity of his poetical production. The House was amazed: nobody ventured even to ask a question, and the thing was voted everything that was bad, and a breach of privilege into the bargain. Lord Sandwich then informed their lordships that Mr. Wilkes was indisputably the author. Lord Temple then objected

* Wilkes was accustomed to say at a later period that, with the exception of Dashwood, who had some imagination, the members of the Medmenham Abbey Society were but dull dogs after all; daring without any imagination, and profligate without any wit. Some account of their orgies is given in vol. iii. of Almon's 'Correspondence and Memoirs of Wilkes.'

strongly to the underhand manner in which ministers had obtained their copy of the poem 'Essay on Woman.' It had not been published—only fourteen copies had been printed at a private press, and the ministry had bribed a journeyman in Wilkes's employment to purloin the copy they held. Lord Sandwich moved to vote Wilkes the author; but Lord Mansfield hinted to the House that it would be necessary first to hear what Wilkes could say in his defence. A near day was therefore appointed for bringing John Wilkes to their lordships' bar; but in the interval a hot member of the House of Commons rendered it impossible for Wilkes to appear at the time appointed.

In the course of the debate in the Lower House, Mr. Samuel Martin, member for Camelford, who had been secretary to the treasury during Lord Bute's administration, and who had shared abundantly in the satire and abuse of the North Briton; exclaimed, "Whoever stabs a reputation in the dark, without setting his name, is a cowardly, malignant, and scandalous scoundrel." Looking across the House at Wilkes, he repeated these words twice with infinite rage and violence. Wilkes seemed to bear the attack with perfect indifference. But on leaving the House he wrote a note to Martin, and a meeting in Hyde Park on the following morning was the consequence. They fought with pistols, and Martin, at the *second* fire, lodged a ball in the side of Wilkes. The wound was dangerous, and the next day Wilkes was reported to be delirious. The street in front of the house where he lay was crowded with people from morning till night hooting and shouting against his *murderers*; and his friends, instead of keeping him quiet, showed their zeal by visiting him and exciting him. "Should this hero die," says Horace Walpole, "the Bishop of Gloucester may doom him whither he pleases, but Wilkes will pass for a saint and a martyr."*

* Letters to the Earl of Hertford. In one of his letters to George Montague, written at the same time, he says,

The question of privilege came on the 23rd of November, and occupied the House of Commons two whole days. Mr. Wilbraham, member for Newton, in Lancashire, objected that Wilkes was involved in it, and ought to be present. Upon dividing upon this question, ministers found their majority considerably reduced. Mr. Pitt, who was suffering from a fever and the gout, attended on crutches, and wrapped in flannels. He had determined with his party to take Wilkes's side on the privilege question; but he was anxious, at the same time, to efface the recollection of his former personal intimacy, and to disclaim any approbation of Wilkes's writings. "He vehemently reprobated the facility with which Parliament was surrendering its own privileges; but he carefully impressed on the House, that he was merely delivering a constitutional opinion, and not vindicating the libel or its author. He condemned the whole series of North Britons, and called them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable."* "He knew nothing of any connexion with the writer of that libel. If there subsisted any, he was totally unacquainted with it."† Pitt, worn out by a speech of an hour and fifty minutes, was obliged to retire at ten o'clock, but the debate lasted till two in the morning. Charles Yorke, son of Lord Hardwicke, and then attorney-general, was expected to concur with Mr. Pitt; but he delivered a splendid oration on the other side. Rigby, Master of the Rolls

more facetiously,—“Your cousin Sandwich has out-Sandwiched himself. He has impeached Wilkes for a blasphemous poem, and has been expelled for blasphemy himself by the Beefstake Club at Covent Garden. Wilkes has been shot by Martin, instead of being burnt at an *auto da fé*, as the Bishop of Gloucester intended; is revered as a saint by the mob; and, if he dies, I suppose the people will squint themselves into convulsions at his tomb, in honour of his memory.”

* Chatham Correspondence.

† Parl. Hist.—Pitt *must* have known the close connexion which existed between the writer of the libel and his brother-in-law Earl Temple, whom he was eulogising.

in Ireland, who has been properly described as a statesman of the second class, and a *bon vivant* of the first, fell furiously upon Lord Temple, and described his behaviour on the commitment of Wilkes. The end of all was a resolution, carried by 258 against 133,—“That the privilege of Parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence.” The resolutions passed on the first day of the session, with the order for burning the North Briton by the hands of the common hangman, were confirmed; and a conference was desired with the other House, to claim the concurrence of their lordships. On the 25th the Lords at a conference received the resolutions of the Commons, and then debated upon them till ten at night. The Duke of Cumberland voted for Wilkes, and Lord Shelburn, afterwards first Marquess of Lansdowne, spoke at length and against the court. In the end the Lords supported ministers, and concurred in the resolution, by a majority of 114 to 35. Seventeen peers, however, entered a spirited protest, dwelling at great length upon the danger and unconstitutionality of general warrants. Ministers were said to have threatened to dismiss from their employments several persons who had voted against them, and Mr. John Calcraft, deputy commissary-general of musters, was actually dismissed in a very abrupt manner. On the 1st of December another conference took place, and Lords and Commons agreed in a very loyal address to the king, expressive of their great detestation of the libels against him. On the 2nd Wilkes was ordered to attend at the bar of the Commons in a week, if his health would permit; and on the 3rd there was a riot in the city, occasioned by the burning of the North Briton in Cheapside. This farcical affair occupied the attention of Parliament for four days, during which nothing else was done except voting a portion of 80,000*l.* to the Princess Augusta,

the king's eldest sister, who was about to be married to the Duke of Brunswick. During the examination of witnesses at the bar of the Lords the Duke of Grafton shrewdly extracted the avowal that the whole populace of London was of one mind on the subject of Wilkes. In the meanwhile, Wilkes, from his sick bed, filled the town with bon-mots and stories at the expense of Lord Sandwich and ministers in general. And, to the infinite increase of the ministerial perplexity and mortification, actions were brought by the printers and others arrested under the general warrant, to recover damages for false imprisonment; and, in the Court of Common Pleas, all those persons obtained verdicts and damages. Wilkes himself, aiming at higher game, had brought his actions against the two secretaries of state, Lord Egremont and Lord Halifax, and against Robert Wood, Esq., late under-secretary. Egremont, as we have seen, died in October, and so escaped the ordeal of a court of law; Halifax stood upon his privilege, and defied the court, till relieved by the sentence of outlawry that was passed upon Wilkes; but Wood had no means of escaping the action, and, after a long trial of fourteen hours, a special jury gave a verdict against him, with 1,000*l.* damages to Wilkes. The Lord Chief Justice Pratt, before whom the cause was tried, now ventured to declare peremptorily that general warrants were unconstitutional, illegal, and absolutely void. "There is," said he, "no authority in our law books that mentions this kind of warrants, but in express terms condemns them." It was not held expedient to refer the matter to the twelve judges; but Pratt's judgment respecting the illegality of general warrants was afterwards affirmed by the Court of King's Bench.

When the day approached on which Wilkes, by order of the House, was to appear at the bar of the Commons, Dr. Brocklesby, an eminent physician, and Mr. Graves, a surgeon, appeared there and declared that the state of Mr. Wilkes's wound and health would not permit him to obey the summons. The House then granted another

week's delay. At the expiration of this term (on the 16th of December), Dr. Brocklesby and Mr. Graves appeared again at the bar, and made the same report as before.

A.D. 1764.—The Wilkes' war continued more fierce than ever. The festivity of Christmas was only a short truce. On the 19th of January parliament met, and instantly caused to be read the order for Mr. Wilkes's attendance at the bar. But the droll, who could hardly have been so ill as represented, had gone beyond sea to amuse with his wit, elasticity, and odd obliquity of vision the salons and soirées of Paris, where he was exceedingly admired.* The Speaker produced a letter from him, enclosing a certificate signed by a French army surgeon and by one of the French king's physicians, signifying that the wound was still in such a state as to render it dangerous for Mr. Wilkes to leave Paris. Tired of medical reports, the House observed that this certificate wanted the signature of a notary public to give it authenticity, and then resolved to admit of no further delays, but proceed against Wilkes as if he were present. The examination of witnesses and papers and the debate lasted till three hours after midnight; when it was resolved by a majority of 239 against 102, that No. 45 of the North Briton, which had been voted a seditious libel, contained expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his majesty, the grossest aspersions upon

* That famous wit, the Abbé Galliani, in writing to a friend in Italy, says—"We have here in Paris a strange, squinting Englishman, who has more wit and vivacity than all Paris put together." But the most amusing thing is that the Parisians considered Wilkes to be much the same thing as Pitt; and a French diplomat in London seriously thought himself obliged to inform his court that there was a considerable difference in character, weight, and importance, between the two patriots! *Séjour, Politique de tous les Cabinets*. The best society of Paris, and the wits, and the literati continued, however, to show Wilkes the most marked attentions.

both Houses of parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature; that it had a manifest tendency to alienate the affections of the people from the king; to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws; and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against government. Next day it was further resolved that Wilkes should be expelled the House, and a new writ be issued for the borough of Aylesbury.

In general the English people dislike all appearances of shirking a question or running away; but on the present occasion they assumed that Wilkes knew he would not have been allowed fair play, and that he would have been treated with barbarity.* His popularity, therefore, still continued to grow. Every opportunity was taken by the people to express their sentiments. The king went to Drury-lane Theatre—the play given out for the next night happened to be “All in the wrong,”—the galleries clapped tremendously, and then cried out, “Let us be all in the right—Wilkes and liberty!”

On the 13th of February the Opposition moved that Wilkes's complaint of breach of privilege, in the matter of the general warrant, should be heard. George Grenville objected, since, by the vote of the 20th of January, Mr. Wilkes had ceased to be a member of the House. Charles Townshend, Sir George Saville, and others said, that at all events Wilkes was a member of the House when he was arbitrarily arrested by the secretary of state's warrant, and that it behoved the House to secure its privileges from such assaults. They gave the minister “some smart raps;” but Grenville had still a considerable majority, and Wilkes's complaint was thrown out after a stormy debate which occupied three days and

* It appears from Wilkes's own letters that he was not without apprehension of being arrested for debt if he returned to London. As he was no longer defended from his creditors by the panoply of parliament he might have been thrown into the King's Bench prison as a debtor, instead of going there, as he afterwards did, as an oppressed patriot.

one whole night. On the 14th the division did not take place till seven o'clock in the morning. Sir William Meredith moved a resolution, "That a general warrant for apprehending and securing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." Mr. Charles Yorke proposed to adjourn; but Pitt made a speech, and General Conway and others supported him. "Our cry," says Horace Walpole, who was the bosom friend of Conway, and, at the time, unusually ardent in opposition, "was so loud, that both we and the ministers thought we had carried it. It is not to be painted the dismay of the latter—in good truth not without reason; for we were 197, they but 207 Crest-fallen, the ministers then proposed simply to discharge Wilkes's complaint; but the plumes which they had dropped Pitt soon placed in his own beaver. He, on the 17th, broke out on liberty, and indeed on whatever he pleased, and uninterrupted. . . . Every body was too much daunted to give the least disturbance to his Pindarics." During his harangue Pitt broke out in censures against ministers for their dismissal of officers who had voted with the Opposition. George Grenville, with very little truth, denied the charge of menacing officers, &c. At that moment General A'Court, who had just been dismissed from his command of the second regiment of Foot Guards, walked up the House, as if to give the minister the lie. The little incident produced a great sensation, and this was increased by another trifling accident. The Speaker chanced to call Barré by his usual military rank;—"I beg your pardon, Sir," said Barré, "you have given me a title I have no right to: I am no longer a colonel; they have dismissed me from my regiment and from the office of adjutant-general." After a most stormy discussion the House again divided, at seven o'clock in the morning, when it was carried by a majority of only fourteen—the numbers being 232 against 218,—that Meredith's motion should be adjourned for four months.

A few weeks after, General Conway, whose brother, the Earl of Hertford, was then ambassador at Paris, was

pettishly deprived of all his employment, both courtly and military.*

In anticipation of a victory by the opposition, bells, bonfires, and an illumination from the Monument had been prepared in the city; and it was said that Lord Temple had fagots ready for two bonfires of his own. On the last day of the debate the lame and the sick, the halt and the blind, were brought to vote by both parties. "One would have thought," says Walpole, "that they had sent a search-warrant for members of parliament into every hospital. Votes were brought down in flannels and blankets till the floor of the House looked like the Pool of Bethesda."†

Lord Temple having engaged to bear all the expenses of the law-proceedings out of his own pocket, Wilkes entered an appearance, and the trial for libel went on in the Court of King's Bench, where Wilkes was found guilty of publishing both the *North Briton* and the *Essay on Woman*. But this triumph of ministers was more than balanced by the City of London giving their freedom to Lord Chief Justice Pratt, and ordering his portrait to be placed in Guildhall—for his honesty, independence, inflexible firmness, and integrity, in his decision on the question of general warrants;—and by the common council voting thanks to the city members for their behaviour in parliament on that important question, and their spirited endeavours to assert the rights and liberties of the people. The city of Dublin, and other places in the two kingdoms, followed the example of London; and freedoms and gold snuff-boxes fell almost as thickly upon Pratt as they had fallen upon Pitt a few years before.

It was at this troubled and inauspicious moment that George Grenville brought forward his proposition for shearing the great flock on the other side of the Atlantic. As the English people were complaining of burdens, it was resolved to tax our colonies in America; and on the

* Horace Walpole's and General Conway's own Letters to the Earl of Hertford.

† Letter to the Earl of Hertford.

10th of March a series of resolutions respecting new duties to be laid on foreign goods imported by the Americans, was brought into the House and passed with little notice. General Conway is said to have been the only member who directly protested against these duties, the bill imposing which received the royal assent on the 5th of April. The Minister also proposed raising a direct revenue from the colonies in the shape of a stamp-tax; but this scheme was withdrawn for the present. At the same time, however, certain restrictions were laid upon the profitable contraband trade carried on by the Americans with the Spanish colonies—a trade, of which the Spanish government was constantly and bitterly complaining to the court of Great Britain. It was undeniably this interference with the profitable practice of running tobacco and dry goods to South America that was considered as one of the worst infringements on the liberties of our subjects in North America; and Grenville had rashly determined to entrust the execution of his prohibitory orders to military men and to captains in the navy, who were little acquainted with the niceties of the excise-law, or of any other law, and who, from the habits of their lives, were too much disposed to carry matters with a high hand. The country gentlemen congratulated themselves on the pleasing prospect of the non-increase or diminution of the land-tax; no class seemed aware of the mighty mischief set in motion; and the king, in proroguing parliament on the 19th of April, expressed his hearty approbation of the measures, calling them wise regulations, calculated to augment the public revenues, to unite the interests of his most distant possessions, and to encourage and to secure their commerce with Great Britain. But in the course of a few months this pleasant dream was dissipated by a strong blast across the Atlantic—by news that our American colonists had received these wise regulations like knives put to their throats. Besides being unpalatable in themselves, they had the additional misfortune of arriving when the colonists were in a very bad humour. On quitting Canada the French government had not broken off all

connexion with the native Indians; and, partly through the encouragement of their agents, and in part through some encroachments made by the British on their hunting-grounds, the Indian nations or tribes flew to arms with the intention of making a combined attack on all our back settlements in harvest-time. In some places their secret was betrayed and their movement anticipated; but they fell like a flight of locusts upon Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, plundering, burning, and destroying, till the frontiers of those three provinces were left bare and void of inhabitants. The Indians also surprised several British forts in Canada, and massacred the weak and unsuspecting garrisons they found in them.

Fortunately Sir William Johnston was enabled to detach the Indians to the Six Nations from the confederacy, and induce them to join the British against the other Indians. After various skirmishes and surprises, the savages submitted to conditions, or retired farther into the depth of their native wilds and forests. The worst part of these calamities had befallen our American colonists in the summer and autumn of the preceding year (1763); but the recollection of them was recent, and the losses that had been sustained were making themselves more and more painfully felt when Grenville's acts arrived. Every citizen, moreover, was armed for the defence of his home and property against the Indians; and when men have muskets in their hands, and in their hearts the certainty that their quarrel will become a general one, they are not likely to limit themselves to murmurs and complaints, petitions and remonstrances. To those who mildly represented the moderate amount of the taxation proposed in Grenville's acts,* they replied that this moderation could only be meant as an experiment on their temper; and that, if once they submitted to the right of the mother-country to tax them, there was no possibility of saying to what extent she

* It was calculated that the taxes or duties would only draw from the American colonies about 200,000*l.* per annum.

might proceed in relieving the British subject by throwing the burden upon the Americans. Taking the lead, the provinces of New England passed strong resolutions, and transmitted them to their agents in London, to be laid before government. They also circulated their printed papers and opinions throughout the other provinces, and begged their fellow-citizens to make no further use of the articles of luxury upon which the duties were to be laid. Pennsylvania appointed a new provincial agent, and chose for the important office an individual of extraordinary ability, perseverance, and energy. This was the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, the son of a tallow-chandler at Boston, in New England, who, from the condition of a poor journeyman printer, had raised himself, by force of steadiness of purpose and astonishing industry, to be a man of property and of science, a leading magistrate, a high functionary in the local government, a powerful writer, a statesman, and philosopher. Franklin had been in England twice before—once as a journeyman printer, and the second time as agent to manage a difficult controversy before the privy council, in which his ability and success were so eminent, that, besides Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia severally appointed him their agent. He had only returned to America in 1762; and when he came back to London at the end of the present year he was already well known to our ministers and public men, and in possession of a high reputation both for his discoveries in natural science* and for his political shrewdness. The instructions which he now brought with him from his native country were to oppose to the very utmost the Stamp-Act and every other act that might be proposed in the British parliament to tax the people of America without their consent.

In the autumn of this year, when George Grenville seemed sliding from his seat, and the whole cabinet was in confusion and dismay, Mr. Pitt abruptly broke his recently formed league with the old Duke of Newcastle,

* See Pict. Hist. of England, iv. 785.

telling his grace in a decisive letter that he was determined henceforward to act "for his single self," to keep himself "free from all stipulation," and to oppose or support measures in parliament "independent of the sentiments of others." It was, however, reported in the month of September that Pitt was listening to overtures made by the Duke of Bedford, who remained in the ministry. The Opposition apprehended that they might be weakened by the disseverance of the Duke of Newcastle and the great orator; but they nevertheless confidently predicted that the ministry could not stand beyond the Christmas holidays.* At the end of the year, or early in the next, Pitt, who was fortunate in legacies, was left by a Somersetshire baronet about 30,000*l.* in ready money, and the estate of Burton Pynsent, worth about 2500*l.* a-year. Sir William Pynsent is described as "an old man of ninety, who quitted the world on the peace of Utrecht, and, luckily for Mr. Pitt, lived to be angry with its *pendant*, the treaty of Paris."†

A.D. 1765.—Parliament assembled on the 10th of January, when the king, in his speech, alluded to American taxation and American discontents; and, unalarmed by the gathering storm, recommended the carrying out of Grenville's scheme and the enforcing obedience in the colonies. The royal speech also announced the approaching marriage of the Princess Caroline, George's youngest sister, with the Prince Royal of Denmark;‡ an inauspicious union, which, in the course of a few years, was attended with tragical consequences. The opening of the session did not promise serenity. Mr. Beckford took up a letter written by Sir William Draper, and complaining that the court of Spain had not yet paid the Manilla ransom. Lord Granby, the idol of the army, and at the time a great favourite of the people,

* Chatham Correspondence.—Prior, Life of Burke.

† Horace Walpole, Letters to the Earl of Hertford.

‡ Before the nuptials were solemnised the Prince Royal was King of Denmark.

declared his disapprobation of the dismissal of excellent officers for party reasons. Sir William Meredith notified his intention of taking up the affair of general warrants; and nothing seemed wanting but an harangue from Pitt, who was absent, and reported to be very ill of the gout. To accommodate him the great question of the warrants was put off. The ministry attempted to conciliate the Americans by offering to drop the proposed stamp-tax if they on their part would contribute about an equal sum in any other way more acceptable to themselves. To this Franklin and the other agents replied that they were instructed to oppose Grenville's act and any other bill whatsoever that assumed as a principle the right of taxing the colonies. But the British king and the British cabinet were resolutely determined not to yield their claim of right; and the British legislature, with a small number of exceptions, seemed either to consider the right indisputable, or the question of little moment. The debates, on the whole, were languid, and failed to draw full houses. Even Pitt, who had shown on former occasions that he could attend and harangue in flannels and upon crutches, and defy gout and fever, for far less momentous objects, now kept away from the House. Was this the effect of ignorance as to the life-and-death importance of the matter? or did Pitt purposely withhold his warning and potential voice, in order that his political adversaries might take the fatal step,—he not caring for the humiliation of his country, or for the miseries to be inflicted on humanity, provided the hostile administration were rent to pieces and the powers of the crown thrown at his feet?

Fifty-five resolutions proposed by a committee of ways and means were agreed to by the Commons, and incorporated into an act for laying nearly the same stamp-duties on the American colonies as were payable at the time in England. On the 7th of February there was what Walpole styles "one slight day on the American taxes;" and Burke, who sat in the gallery during the progress of the bill, said he never heard *a more languid debate*. Charles Townshend, supporting the

act, received "a heavy thump" from Colonel Barré; "who," says Walpole, "*is the present Pitt.*" But a startling prediction was not heeded—it was treated merely as the complaint of a colonel who had lost his regiment; few or none seconded Barré's vaticination; the Opposition were still waiting for the absent Pitt, and they mustered only a thin majority of forty on this vital question. There was only one division during the whole progress of the momentous bill.* Petitions presented by English merchants trading with the colonies, and by others who were both interested in and acquainted with American affairs, were treated with contempt; and the House refused to receive four petitions offered by the agents of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, and Carolina; and another petition, from the traders of Jamaica, was treated in the same manner. The House of Lords were still more expeditious and indifferent than the Commons, for they passed the bill without division or protest, and apparently without debate. With all these encouragements the king joyfully gave the royal assent, and the Stamp Act became law on the 22nd of March. Franklin had told them before, and he now told them again, that the Americans would never submit to its operation.

Wilkes, who remained in Paris, instead of returning to receive judgment in the Court of King's Bench, was visited with the more serious sentence of outlawry. Williams, the printer or reprinter of the North Britain, was condemned to stand in the pillory in Palace Yard. He

* Mr. Grenville, at a subsequent period, said in the House of Commons—"I did propose the Stamp Act, and shall have no objection to have it christened by my name. There was only one division in the committee against it, and not a single negative in the House of Lords. It is easy to give an *ex post facto* judgment; but of all who acted with me in the government I never heard any one prophesy that the measure would be opposed. After the event prophecy is very safe. The Honourable Colonel (Barré) did indeed say that he knew not what anger it might occasion in America."—*Cavendish's Debates.*

went in a hackney-coach, the number of which was *forty-five*, as if glorying in the particular number of the paper which had contained the libel. While he was standing in the pillory the mob erected a gallows opposite to him, on which they hung a boot with a straw bonnet on top of it (emblematical of Lord Bute and the king's mother); and then they made a collection for the printer, which amounted to near 200*l*. Thus every proceeding against Wilkes or those concerned with him, only elicited an increase of popular favour for him and them, and the most unequivocal demonstrations against Bute and ministers.

In the end of March, not a week after giving his assent to the American Stamp Act, it was reported that the king was very seriously ill and in great danger. He was kept close and every possible secrecy was preserved; it was given out that he had a bad cold, and that the rheum had fallen on his chest; then it was rumoured in some quarters that he had been seized with a sudden vertigo or giddiness; but now it appears to be pretty clearly ascertained that the illness was more in the brain than on the lungs, and that it was, in fact, a slight attack of that terrible malady which thrice afterwards afflicted George III., and finally incapacitated him for the duties of government. This time the malady was transient; and as soon as his majesty recovered he appeared suddenly and unexpectedly at his levee at St. James's, and a few days after he acquainted his ministers that he was anxious for a Regency Bill, and told them the particulars of his intention. Mr. Fox, now Lord Holland, drew up the sketch of a bill which left the regent *in petto*, or to be named by the king. This injudicious regency scheme, which was somewhat altered in its passage through parliament, but which was never acted upon, provoked a dreadful storm in both Houses, and exposed the fact that the members of his majesty's government had no concord or agreement among themselves. Grenville, the premier, seemed to admit that the Princess Dowager of Wales, on account of her unpopularity, ought to be for ever excluded from a share in the Regency.

The bill was managed throughout in a foul spirit of faction, those who held the princess dowager as innocent, and those who accused her, being alike led by merely party motives, and all of them playing a game which must ever remain unintelligible in many of its parts.

The mob seemed determined not to leave all the black work to Ministers, Lords and Commons, but to take their share of noise and confusion. On the 15th of May, when the king went down to give his assent to the Regency Bill, a multitude of journeymen silk-weavers and others from Spitalfields, went up to St. James's Palace with black flags and other symptoms of distress and mourning, to present a petition in which they complained that they were all reduced to a state of starvation by the importation of French silks. They surrounded both Houses of Parliament, making a great noise and insulting various members. They carried red flags mixed with their black banners; they terrified the House of Lords, where thirty members were not present, into an adjournment; and in the evening they attacked Bedford House and began to pull down the walls, shouting out that the duke had been bribed to make the treaty of Fontainebleau, which had brought French silks, poverty, and all other curses into the land. The Riot Act was read, and detachments of the guards, both horse and foot, were called out. The mob then fled, many of them being much cut and trampled on, but no lives lost. For some days after London presented a melancholy aspect, the streets being crowded with soldiery, and all kinds of reports spread of mutinies among the sailors at Portsmouth, insurrections among the weavers of Norwich, tumultuous gatherings in Essex, and riots and marchings from Lancashire. "And what is worst of all," says Horace Walpole, "there is such a general spirit of mutiny and dissatisfaction in the lower people, that I think we are in danger of a rebellion in the heart of the capital in a week. In the mean time, there is neither administration nor government. The king is out of town; and this is the crisis in which Mr. Pitt, who could stop every evil,

chooses to be more intractable than ever.”* In fact, not only the cabinet but the country also seemed going to pieces.

On the 16th of May, when ministers went to receive his majesty's commands for his speech at the end of the session, which was to have been on the 22nd, he told them that he would not have parliament prorogued, but only adjourned. They asked if he then intended to make any change in his administration? He replied, certainly; for he could not bear it as it was. He then sent for his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, and despatched him to Hayes in Kent to treat with Mr. Pitt. “The hero of Culloden,” says Walpole, “went down in person to the conqueror of America, at Hayes, and, though tendering almost *carte blanche*—*blanchissime* for the constitution, and little short of it for the whole red-book of places—brought back nothing but a flat refusal. Words cannot paint the confusion into which everything is thrown. The four ministers, I mean the Duke of Bedford, Grenville, and the two secretaries, acquainted their master yesterday, that they adhere to one another, and shall all resign to-morrow, and, perhaps, must be recalled on Wednesday.” The Duke of Cumberland continued for a day or two his endeavours to form a ministry; but nobody worth having would undertake when Mr. Pitt had refused; and the king was reduced to the extreme mortification of retaining his old ministers. It is said, and may be easily believed, that these functionaries, who would have been turned off if the king had had power to do it, were disrespectful and even insolent to his majesty. The king, most uneasy under what he considered a state of thralldom and dishonour, soon made fresh efforts to deliver himself. It is said that as early as the 20th of June, he sent for Mr. Pitt, and held a long conference with him at Buckingham House; that Pitt said he could not engage without Lord Temple; that Temple was then sent for; and that through his lordship's objections the negotiation fell to the ground. Early in July the king once more applied to his uncle, and this time the

* Letters to the Earl of Hertford.

Duke of Cumberland undertook to treat with old Newcastle, whose great parliamentary weight seems always to have been considered nearly as important as Pitt's oratory and popularity. The Duke of Newcastle, always at least more tractable than Pitt, joined Cumberland in addressing himself to the more moderate section of the opposition, and by the 15th of July a new ministry was adjusted. The Marquess of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury; the accomplished General Conway was intrusted with the management of the House of Commons, and named one of the secretaries of state; the other secretary was the Duke of Grafton; Mr. Dowdeswell became chancellor of the exchequer; the Earl of Hertford was removed from his embassy at Paris to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the Duke of Newcastle satisfied himself with the privy seal. One of the first acts of the new cabinet was to elevate Chief Justice Pratt to the peerage, by the title of Lord Camden, an appointment which was exceedingly popular.

A more honest, honourable, and well-intentioned man than the Marquess of Rockingham has rarely occupied the post of premier; nor was it matter of slight moment that he had for his private secretary Mr. Edmund Burke, who now, for the first time, obtained a seat in Parliament. General Conway had eminent abilities, and a power of fascination seldom exceeded; other members of the Cabinet had, at the time, a fair reputation; and there seemed a reasonable hope that this Rockingham administration would obtain strength and durability:—but it had been already proved that no administration could stand of which Mr. Pitt was not a member; and this was not destined to be an exception to the general rule. The party, moreover, was somewhat weakened by the death of the Duke of Cumberland, which happened in the month of October.

Meanwhile the fatal effects of George Grenville's Stamp Act had raised the storm beyond the Atlantic to an absolute hurricane. In New York, the obnoxious act was printed with a skull and cross-bones instead of the royal arms, and hawked about the streets by the title of

“England’s Folly and America’s Ruin ;” at Boston, the colours of the shipping were hoisted half-mast high, and the church bells were muffled and tolled a funeral knell ; at Philadelphia, the people spiked the guns on the ramparts ; and everywhere there was a ferment and a resolution to risk extremities rather than submit. It had been assumed that anything like a stern opposition would be confined to the presbyterian and democratic colonies of New England ; but it was presently found that the episcopalian and aristocratic colonists of Virginia were in a disposition no less alarming. In fact, the loudest note of defiance now proceeded from that quarter.

When the stamps arrived it was found impossible either to put them in circulation or to preserve them from destruction. At Boston a mob testified its dissatisfaction by lighting a bonfire in the streets and burning the records of the Court of Admiralty ; and similar riots broke out in other cities. The news of the change of the ministry in England encouraged them to hope that the Stamp Act would be set aside, but did not relax their activity. The freeholders of Boston passed a vote of thanks to Conway and Barré, and ordered their portraits for the Town Hall ; but, nevertheless, nine out of thirteen of the colonies sent their delegates to a general meeting at New York, where the king’s governor declared such meeting to be unconstitutional and unlawful, but did not venture to give it any further molestation. Fourteen strong resolutions were presently adopted at the New York meeting. Claiming the right of petitioning King, Lords, and Commons, the delegates drew up three several petitions, and then withdrew to their respective homes to promote associations against the importation of British manufactures until the Stamp Act should be repealed by the British Parliament.

Parliament did not meet till the 17th of December, and then, as if in the most piping time of peace, it was almost immediately prorogued for the Christmas holidays, the king having merely mentioned in his speech that something had occurred in America which would demand the serious attention of the legislature, and the legisla-

ture having done nothing beyond the issuing (by the Commons) of a few writs to fill up the vacancies.

A.D. 1766.—Parliament re-assembled on the 14th of January, when his majesty spoke more at length on the subject of the American colonies, and informed the Houses that he had ordered the proper papers to be laid before them. For the rest, he left it to the wisdom of his Parliament. In the debate which ensued, two or three important facts glared out. The Rockingham administration had used various condescensions towards Mr. Pitt, and had appointed his solicitor and friend, Mr. Nuthall, to the important, confidential, and profitable office of solicitor to the treasury; but these, and, we believe, still greater favours and lures, had been thrown away upon the recluse of Hayes, whose gout had now conveniently left him. It was also made evident that all the members of the Cabinet did not look on the Stamp Act through the same medium, and that there was a difference of opinion on various other points. When the great orator rose, all eyes were bent upon him, as if with a gesture and a word he was to decide the fate of the new government. He did not leave them long in doubt.

Pitt said that, personally, he could not object to the members of the present administration; they were men of fair characters and such as he liked to see in his majesty's service; he had never been made a sacrifice by any of them; to some he had given his advice, but his confidence he could not give them. And then followed one of the most frequently quoted of his oratorical displays:—Bowling to the Treasury Bench, with great grace and dignity, he said,—“Pardon me, gentlemen, confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is the season of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence. There is a clause in the Act of Settlement to oblige every member to sign his name to the advice which he gives to his sovereign. Would it were observed! I have had the honour to serve the Crown, and, if I could have submitted to influence, I might have still continued to serve it;

but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments; it is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in a cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and found it, in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men! men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to overturn the state in the war before the last.* These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world:—detested be the national reflections against them! they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve his majesty as a minister, it was not the *country* of the man (Bute) by which I was moved—but the *man* of that country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom.” He disapproved of the tardiness displayed in giving notice to Parliament of the troubles in America; he reminded

* Some of the pleasantest letters to read in all the four volumes of the Chatham correspondence are two or three which passed between Pitt and the Honourable Colonel Simon Fraser, the brave and honourable son of that arch-traitor Simon Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower Hill. After being confined for some time in Edinburgh Castle, the gallant and then young man was liberated by government. In 1751, he received a full pardon for all that he had done in the rebellion of 1745. He entered into the service of George II., and a few years after raised a regiment of 1800 men in the Highlands. Being appointed their colonel, he went out with these brave fellows to North America, and distinguished himself in Pitt’s war at Louisburg and Quebec. In 1762, he served with Burgoyne as brigadier-general in the forces sent to relieve Portugal. After the war which was ended by the treaty of Fontainebleau, he sat in the British parliament for the county of Inverness; and in 1774, he was restored to the lands and estates forfeited by his old father’s treason.

the House that, when the unfortunate resolution was adopted to tax those colonies, he was confined to his room by illness. He proclaimed his opinion that Great Britain had no right to lay a tax upon the American colonies; making, however, at the same time, the seemingly contradictory assertion, that her authority over those colonies was *sovereign and supreme*. After dwelling still more upon the distinction between legislation and taxation, he fell upon the idea of some who had maintained that the colonies, like many places in Great Britain that sent no members to parliament, were, nevertheless, represented by the aggregate of the members sent by other places. And here he announced what has been called the first germ of parliamentary reform; though, in fact, nearly as much had been said in the House by others at an earlier period, and more by Pitt himself in conversation and in letters. "There is," said he, "an idea that the colonies are virtually represented in the House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough which, perhaps, its own representatives never saw. This is what is called the *rotten part of the Constitution*. It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop it must be amputated."* He concluded his brilliant declamation by repeating, that the Commons of America, represented in their Assemblies, had ever been

* Just four years after this striking declaration he read the lesson backwards, declaring that the rotten boroughs, corrupt as they were, must be considered the natural infirmity of the constitution—that, like the infirmities of the body, we must bear it with patience, and submit to carry it about with us—that the limb was mortified indeed, but that amputation might be death. But it should be remembered that this splendid orator contradicted in the like manner nearly every principle in defending which he had employed his best oratory, and earned his highest popularity.

in possession of the constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. When he sat down the House was awed, and for some time no one rose to reply. At last General Conway stood up, and frankly declared that his sentiments on the general question were conformable to those of Mr. Pitt. He excused ministers for their tardy notice to Parliament, by saying, that the first news of the troubles was very vague and imperfect. But in denying the continued ascendancy of Lord Bute Conway spoke with more warmth. He said, "An overruling influence has been hinted at—I see nothing of it—I feel nothing of it—I disclaim it for myself; and as far as my discernment can reach, for the rest of his majesty's ministers." Conway was the very soul of honour, and one that would never have ventured this assertion if he had not felt it to be true; yet even Conway, with all the weight of his character, and his then great popularity, could not remove the conviction carried into the popular mind, now, and down to a still later date, by the Philippics of Mr. Pitt; and, in obedience to that mighty magician, the opaque shadow of Bute long continued to be seen over the throne and cabinet. Since those days of strife and faction some pains have been taken to prove the unreasonableness of the illusion, and the unfairness of the accusation. Those who go the greatest lengths on the side of the king maintain, that from the month of August, 1763, when Bute failed in his negotiations with Mr. Pitt, his lordship retired into absolute privacy, and so scrupulously abstained from all communication with the king, that he never once saw him in private, and resented as a personal offence the indiscretion of a person who once attempted to bring him into the presence of his majesty in the garden of a country-house.* Others, on the contrary, and, as it seems to us, upon better grounds, maintain that the total disseverance between the king and his ex-minister did not take place until the Grenville administration, in May, 1765, exacted from him the promise not to consult Lord Bute, and got

* Quarterly Review, No. cxxxi.

from him the assurance that Bute should not be allowed to interfere in business. If the king really gave this assurance, his character for veracity will justify the belief that, at least from *that time*, the great and immediate influence of the ex-minister was at an end. Lord Bute himself was accustomed to complain of royal ingratitude or neglect, and to declare that he was forbidden all access to the king; and once through his son, Lord Mountstuart, was rather specific as to date. In a letter, addressed to the newspapers, Lord Mountstuart said,—“He (Lord Bute) does authorise me to say that he declares upon his solemn word of honour, that he has not had the honour of waiting on his majesty but at his levee or drawing-room; nor has he presumed to offer an advice or opinion concerning the disposition of offices or the conduct of measures, either directly or indirectly, by himself or any other, from the time when the late Duke of Cumberland was consulted in the arrangement of a ministry, in 1765, to the present hour.”*

But, at whatever date the king's strict line of conduct was adopted, it seems indisputable that it was the rule of his conduct at this time, when Pitt was reviving the unpopular charge for his own or for party purposes. It is scarcely possible to believe that the mis-statement arose out of ignorance or misconception.

We return to the debate on American affairs. Mr. George Grenville, with whom had originated the fatal Stamp Act, attempted to show that there was nothing wrong in the Act itself, but excessive culpability and negligence in those who had succeeded him in office. Like Pitt, he complained of the delay in giving notice of the disturbances. “They began,” said he, “in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrines of this day be confirmed,

* This letter was written in October, 1778, when the outcry against Bute and his secret influence with the king was as loud as ever.

that name will be lost in revolution." He said that he could not see the distinction which had been drawn by Mr. Pitt; and that, in his opinion, taxation was a part of our sovereign supreme legislative power over our colonies. "When," he said, "I proposed to tax America, I repeatedly asked this house if any objection could be made to the right; but no one attempted to deny that right. *The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition.*" When Mr. George Grenville had done speaking, several members rose together; but, as the great orator was among them, and as there was a loud cry of "Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt," they all sat down except he, who was excited to more eloquence than ever. He took care not to notice the bold denial which had been offered by Conway, for he wished the Bute-burr to stick, and nothing could have been gained by disputing the point with a man of so much spirit and veracity. After reflecting severely upon Grenville for complaining of the liberty of speech in that house, he exclaimed,— "The gentleman tells us America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He recommended wisdom and moderation towards America, and quoted two lines of a ballad by Prior—

"Be to her faults a little blind :
Be to her virtues very kind."

He then proposed that the Stamp Act should be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately; but that this repeal should be accompanied by the strongest declaration of the sovereign authority of Great Britain over her colonies. This was also the opinion of the Marquess of Rockingham, General Conway, and nearly all the rest of the present administration; and petitions against the Stamp Act, which had been imperiously rejected by Mr.

Grenville, were now welcomed and honoured. These petitions were very numerous, and chiefly from the mercantile class, who best understood the question, and who were more immediately interested in its decision. In a short time a repealing bill was brought in by ministers, and, after being six weeks under committee, it was passed by a great majority of that very same House of Commons which only a few months before had voted the Stamp Act all but unanimously. The bill, *as had been recommended by Pitt*, was attended by a declaratory bill, setting forth our supreme right, sovereignty, &c.; but another of his recommendations, to explain and apologise for the Stamp Act, was rejected as too humiliating. The great orator, and not the Rockingham administration, got all the honour of the repeal; and it was most unfairly asserted that ministers were *bullied* into that measure by Mr. Pitt.* When the Repealing Act was carried up to the Lords, it encountered a violent opposition. On the second reading, 71 divided against 105; and thirty-three peers entered a strong protest against the bill and its non-taxing principle. It was observed, both here and in the Lower House, that the members belonging to the royal household voted with the opposition—a very unequivocal proof of the king's feelings on the subject. On the third reading, a new protest was entered by twenty-eight peers; but the bill passed at the end of March, and received the reluctant assent of the crown.

The Cyder Act—the last act of an unpopular minister, and otherwise odious and irritating—had never ceased being the subject of complaint and outcry. Attempts had been made to procure its repeal or amendment under George Grenville's ministry; but they had failed. Early in the present session attention was drawn to the subject by innumerable petitions, and a bill was ordered to be brought in for repealing so much of that law as affected private persons, or interfered with the privacy and comfort of private houses. These changes proved

* Burke.

in their operation to be little better than a bonus to country gentlemen who made their own cyder; but the repeal was uncommonly popular at the moment.

The disposition of the present administration was tested on a higher principle, by the question of general warrants, which, impeded and thrown back by the late ministers, was now resumed with heart and zeal. On the 25th of April, the Commons resolved that general warrants for seizing and apprehending any person or persons, except in particular cases provided for by act of parliament, were *illegal*, and, if executed on any member of that house, a *breach of privilege*. And, not stopping here, on the 29th they passed a bill to restrain the issuing of warrants for seizing any one's papers, except, under certain regulations, in cases of treason or felony without benefit of clergy. But the Lords threw out this latter bill; and an attempt to introduce another bill for preventing the seizure of any body by general warrants failed even in the Commons.

Parliament was prorogued early in June, after the House of Commons had shown, on the question of American taxation and other most important points, upon what slight foundations their votes and opinions had been formed, and with what ease they could change their opinions with any change of ministers.

To people indifferent to party, and strangers alike to the jostlings and jealousies of statesmen, and the secret springs and cabals of the court, the Rockingham administration seemed on the whole to have merited confidence, and to have a fair prospect of continuance. But, in fact, their doom was already sealed. In the month of May, the Duke of Grafton, who had been visiting at Hayes, suddenly threw up his seals of secretary of state, declaring that he had no fault to find with his colleagues except that they were weak, and wanted that strength which Mr. Pitt alone could give them. "Under that great man," exclaimed his grace, "I am willing to serve in any capacity, not merely as a general officer, but as a pioneer: under him I would take up a spade or a mattock." Colonel Barré, who had attained to great weight

and consideration in the Lower House, had refused his support; and General Conway felt out of his element, and was sighing for the *quieter* life of the army. On the 10th or 12th of July, Pitt received the king's personal commands to form a new administration; his majesty acquainting him that he had no terms to propose, but should put himself entirely in his hands. Pitt spoke of his infirmities, of his advanced age (he was only fifty-eight), and proposed taking to himself, not the premiership, with the direction of the House of Commons—that house where he was all but omnipotent—but the office of privy seal, which implied and necessitated his removal to the House of Lords! The king was astonished, yet durst offer no opposition to the will of this absolute orator. The nation thought that Pitt had gone mad by gazing at a coronet. "Every body," writes the witty Lord Chesterfield, "is puzzled to account for this step: such an event was, I believe, never heard nor read of, to withdraw, in the fulness of his power and in the utmost gratification of his ambition, from the House of Commons (which procured him his power, and which could alone ensure it him), and to go into that *Hospital of Incurables*, the House of Lords, is a measure so unaccountable, that nothing but proof positive could make me believe it; but so it is."* Pitt was then asked who should have the first post of government, or that of first lord of the treasury. He named his brother-in-law, Lord Temple; and his lordship was sent for. After a private interview, at which Pitt was not present, and which seems to have taken place in Richmond Lodge, the king, on the 15th of July, at *fifteen minutes past seven* (his majesty was always very particular as to these minutiae), wrote to inform Pitt that he had conferred with his lordship, but had found him averse to nearly the whole of the scheme proposed.† Mr. Pitt, it seems, wished to retain a considerable portion of the Rockingham ministers, whereas Lord Temple was intent on bringing in a great number of

* Chesterfield's Letters.

† Letter from the king in Chatham Correspondence.

own old friends. A meeting between the two brothers-in-law took place at North End, Hampstead, where Mr. Pitt had taken up his lodgings for a long time. His lordship proposed that he should be allowed at least an equal share of power with Pitt, and that some men of his own naming should have seats in the cabinet. He named Lord Lyttleton as one that ought to have the privy seal. Pitt exclaimed that that could never be—that Lyttleton could not be compared with the Duke of Grafton, Lord Shelburne, or General Conway—that Lord Lyttleton might have a pension. Temple next named two candidates for the treasury board. "No," said Pitt, "it cannot be; let them have pensions!" Temple then answered that this would never do—that he would not stain the bud of his administration by an accumulation of such burthens. He next proposed Lord Gower as secretary of state. Pitt insisted on retaining General Conway. Upon this Temple lost his patience and temper, declaring that he saw clearly Pitt was determined to be sole and absolute dictator. The interview ended in a violent and complete breach. On the following day Temple went to the king and informed his majesty that Mr. Pitt's terms were inconsistent with his honour; and on the same evening he told Lord Northington that the farce was at an end, and the mask off—that there had never been any real wish or intention to have him in the administration. Left to himself, Pitt arranged the scheme of a cabinet in which he seems to have recruited from all sides, except from his old connexions and friends the Grenvilles and the Newcastles. He requested an interview with the Marquess of Rockingham, but that nobleman, considering himself exceedingly ill used, and probably considering Pitt as a person not to be trusted either in temper or intention, positively refused to see him. Support upon which he had counted in other quarters also failed him, and the proud man found himself compelled to sue to people he despised, and to beat the ministerial drum for recruits in new or unthought of quarters. He now even offered the seals of secretary of state to Lord Gower, whom he had black-balled when

proposed by Lord Temple; and he had to undergo the mortification of a flat and indignant refusal from Lord Gower. Mr. Dowdeswell, late chancellor of the exchequer, declined taking office with him, considering himself insulted by the rude, haughty manner in which Pitt made him the offer. This also happened with Lord Scarborough. While these negotiations were in progress, the king, on the 29th of July, in an autograph note, announced to Mr. Pitt his creation as Earl of Chatham. "I have signed this day," says his majesty, "the warrant for creating you an earl, and shall with pleasure receive you in that capacity to-morrow, as well as intrust you with my privy seal, as I know the *Earl of Chatham* will zealously give his aid towards destroying all party distinctions, and restoring that subordination to government which can alone preserve that inestimable blessing, liberty, from degenerating into licentiousness."* This was what Lord Chesterfield called having a *fall up stairs*—a fall which did Pitt so much hurt that he never would be able to stand upon his legs again. "Everybody," says his lordship, "is puzzled how to account for this step; though it would not be the first time that great abilities have been duped by low cunning. But be it what it will, he is now certainly only Earl of Chatham, and no longer Mr. Pitt in any respect."† On the 2nd of August the members of the new cabinet were formally announced in the Gazette. "The curtain," says Chesterfield, "was at last drawn up, and discovered the new actors, together with some of the old ones. Mr. Pitt, who had a *carte blanche* given him, named every one of them." The list stood thus: Mr. Pitt, created Earl of

* Chatham Correspondence. The great event was thus announced in the London Gazette of the following evening:—"St. James's, July 30th. The king has been pleased to grant unto the Right Honourable William Pitt, Esq., and his heirs male, the dignity of a Viscount and Earl of Great Britain, by the titles of Viscount Pitt of Burton Pynsent, and Earl of Chatham, in the county of Kent."

† Letter already quoted from Chatham Correspondence.

Chatham, took to himself the Duke of Newcastle's office of lord privy seal; Lord Camden was made chancellor in room of the Earl of Northington, who was transferred to the presidency of the council; the Earl of Shelburne was appointed one of the secretaries of state, General Conway continuing in office as the other. The place of first lord of the treasury was bestowed upon the Duke of Grafton, and the Honourable Charles Townshend became chancellor of the exchequer, it being also arranged that he should henceforward be the ministerial leader in the House of Commons. Sir Charles Saunders succeeded Lord Egmont at the head of the admiralty, and the Earl of Hillsborough Lord Dartmouth as first lord of trade. Several changes were also made in the subordinate places of the treasury and admiralty boards. Viscount Barrington was continued as secretary-at-war; and Lord North and Mr. George Cooke were associated in the office of paymaster-general, formerly held by Mr. Charles Townshend. In the household the Duke of Portland was succeeded as lord chamberlain by the Earl of Hertford; Lord Edgcumbe as treasurer by Mr. John Shelley; and Lord Scarborough as cofferer by Mr. Hans Stanley. The solicitor-general, Mr. William de Grey, became attorney-general, in the room of the Honourable Charles Yorke, and the appointment of solicitor-general was given to Mr. Edward Willes. The Marquess of Granby was placed at the head of the army. Before these arrangements were three weeks old it was announced that the Earl of Chatham's gout was worse than ever; that he was confined to his bed, and was incapable of transacting any business. In the mean time the Marquess of Rockingham had made a dignified retreat. It had become customary for ministers, after ever so short a tenure of office, to claim for themselves or their connexions pensions, sinecures, or reversions of patent places: but Rockingham withdrew without asking or obtaining anything.

The speeches of Pitt had been echoed through all the corners of the American provinces, and were held as oracles emitted by a divinity—at least all that part of them which declared the illegality of taxation and flat-

tered the pride of the colonists. The repeal of the Stamp Act was hailed with joy and triumph; but, unfortunately, though perhaps inevitably, it was considered rather as the concession of weakness than a voluntary retraction. The declaratory bill with which, by Pitt's recommendation, the repeal was accompanied, found no acceptance; and the strong assertion contained therein of our absolute right of directing the trade, navigation, and manufactures of America provoked new resolutions to endeavour to do without British goods. Thanks and addresses were voted to the king by all the assemblies; but at the same time an evident reluctance was betrayed to chastise any of the rioters, or to pay for the damages which had been sustained. At the same time the assembly of New York got into a new quarrel with the government on the subject of quartering and making better provision for the king's troops.

From his appointment at the end of July down to the meeting of parliament in November, the Earl of Chatham seems to have done nothing, and to have attempted nothing, except to gain some strength and consistency for the crazy disjointed cabinet he had constructed. To conciliate the very wealthy Earl of Northumberland, formerly Sir Hugh Smithson, he made him a duke, somewhat against the wishes of the king. The Earl of Cardigan was elevated to the rank of Duke of Montague. Chatham also opened a personal conference with his grace of Bedford, who pledged himself to suspend his opposition in parliament.

The session opened on the 11th of November, when his majesty called the attention of parliament to a matter of the highest importance, and particularly affecting the poor. The scarcity of corn, which had been apprehended, had amounted almost to a famine, and had caused serious disturbances in many parts of the kingdom. His maj said, "The urgency of the necessity has called upon in the mean time to exert my authority for the preservation of the public safety, against growing calamity, which I could not admit of delay. I have, therefore, by the advice of my privy council, laid an embargo on wheat :

wheat-flour going out of the kingdom, until the advice of parliament could be taken." His majesty deplored the spirit of insurrection which had manifested itself; but the Earl of Chatham, before the meeting of parliament, had coolly or hotly proposed putting down the riots by hangings.* So important an exercise of prerogative as the laying an embargo could scarcely pass unnoticed. The address in answer to the king's speech was opposed in both Houses, and in the Commons no fewer than four amendments were moved; but on every division the majority was with the government. Not one of the proposed amendments glanced at the subject of America; the fighting ground taken up by the opposition was the embargo, or the delay of assembling parliament—a delay which they held to be unjustifiable at a time when the country was in such critical circumstances. It was to reply to these attacks that the Earl of Chatham first rose in the House of Lords. His exordium was studied and courtly in the highest degree. He described his feelings in his new situation, and from the place in which he now spoke—an unaccustomed place—before the most knowing in the laws, in the presence of the hereditary legislators of the realm, whilst he could not look upon the throne without remembering that it had just been filled by majesty, and by all the tender virtues which accompanied it. But, this done and said, he took a tone more natural to him. He allowed that it was physically possible to have called parliament two or three weeks sooner, when the alarm was at its height; but such a measure would have done harm instead of good, as it would have called away from the country those principal persons whose weight and authority had been employed in suppressing the riots.†

* Letter to Lord Shelburne, in Chatham Correspondence.

† The parliament had been originally prorogued to the 6th of September, and then further prorogued till the 11th of November. This latter postponement was adopted at a moment when the country was in a state of extreme alarm, though before the disturbances commenced. If the Houses ad met in September they could have taken the embargo question into consideration; and it was believed that the only

He proceeded to vindicate the issuing of the embargo by legal authority during the recess of parliament, as an act of power justifiable on the ground of necessity. Lord Camden, the new chancellor, took the same view of the case, justified the embargo as a measure of necessity, and said that the power exercised by the crown on this occasion was so moderate and beneficial, that "Junius Brutus would not have hesitated to intrust it even to a Nero." But Lord Northington, the ex-chancellor, who was now president of the council, loudly declared not merely that the embargo was justifiable on other grounds as a part of the prerogative royal, but that it was strictly legal, and that the crown had a right, in cases of necessity, to interpose its authority, even against a positive act of parliament. His Lordship, moreover, said he was no patron of the people, and made use of something like sarcasm towards Lord Chatham. He challenged any lawyer to contradict him. Lord Mansfield did contradict him, however. When they had done, Chatham spoke again, and again concluded with calling the embargo an act of power, justifiable by necessity; and for the rest he referred himself to the judgment of parliament. The cry was instantly raised that the present ministers had sold their consciences to the court, and were in league to extend the prerogative beyond the precedent of the worst of times; and the ferment was increased by some hasty words spoken in the House of Commons by Mr. Beckford, whose speech was the more noticed as he was a warm adherent to Chatham, and a man of most enormous wealth. Chatham was embarrassed by other circumstances. Finding that the party of the Duke of Newcastle was still strong enough to be of the utmost importance to so weak a ministry, he overlooked his declarations that he would never again have any connexion with that old statesman, and opened new negotiations with his grace, who was gratified by court distinctions and places conferred on his friends. As every place was filled, it was necessar

reason why the Houses did not meet then was, to allow Earl of Chatham time for his ministerial negotiations.

turn somebody out in order to get anybody in ; and in this kind of operation an enemy was sure to be made as well as a friend. Wanting the post of treasurer of the household for Sir John Shelley, a near relation of his grace of Newcastle, Chatham intimated to Lord Edgcumbe, who held that place, that it would be highly gratifying to ministers, and useful to his majesty's service, if he would resign it, and take in compensation that of a lord of the bedchamber. An interview took place, and then Chatham insulted and browbeat Lord Edgcumbe because he would not immediately go into the proposed change. Chatham told his lordship to his face that he despised his parliamentary interest, and did not want his assistance. Very reluctantly the king by letter desired Lord Edgcumbe to resign his treasurer's staff, which was presently given to Sir John Shelley. Hereupon not only Lord Besborough, but also the Duke of Portland, the Earl of Scarborough, and Lord Monson sent in their resignations ; which were followed by those of Sir Charles Saunders, first lord of the admiralty, and of Admiral Keppel and Sir William Meredith, two of the junior lords.

These numerous secessions forced Chatham to negotiate more explicitly both with Newcastle and with the Bedford party. Lord Chesterfield, in speaking of this negotiation, says, " Eight or nine people of some consequence have resigned their employments ; upon which Lord Chatham made overtures to the Duke of Bedford and his people, but they could by no means agree, and his grace went the next day, full of wrath, to Woburn, so that negotiation is entirely at an end. People wait to see who Lord Chatham will take in, for some he must have ; even *he* cannot be alone *contra mundum*." Chesterfield's doubts on this head must have been soon removed, for, in a few days after, the Gazette announced the appointment of Sir Edward Hawke as first lord of the admiralty ; of Mr. Jenkins (afterwards Lord Liverpool) and Sir Piercy Brett as the two new junior lords ; and of Lord Despencer as the new joint postmaster-general. Lord Cornwallis was also appointed chief justice in eyre ; the Earl of Hertford, lord chamberlain of the household ; and Mr.

Hans Stanley, cofferer. Some of these new placemen were old friends of the Duke of Newcastle—some were Lord Bute's friends. Many of those who had been driven out of the king's service by preceding administrations were now restored to it; and Chatham, more openly than his royal master, proclaimed a war against party cabals and family connexions, though he had, in reality, just been compelled to make sacrifices to them. He proclaimed to all the world that *his great point was to destroy faction*; and in the House of Lords he declared, as he had done before to Lord Edgcumbe, that he could face and dare the greatest and proudest connexions. At the end of December, when all the new appointments were made, Chatham returned to Bath, whence he repaired immediately to his estate of Burton Pynsent, which had been left him by the eccentric baronet. It was evident at once that the greater part of this ministry, now made more anomalous than ever, would not act with him and could not act without him. "Having," says Burke, "put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister. When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass."* The proud man writhed and groaned under the incubus—throw it off he could not: the way of obtaining relief was to creep from under it, through the easy avenue of resignation. But this he would not do, clinging to the privy seal as if breath and life depended upon its possession. He kept the seal and stayed away in the West of England, doing nothing for the state, taking the thousands a-year attached to his office, and becoming every day more

* Speech on American Taxation.

useless and unpopular. Mr. Charles Townshend, his chancellor of the exchequer, General Conway, his secretary of state, the Duke of Grafton, his nominee, his ardent friend Mr. Beckford, all expressed the anxiety they felt at his prolonged absence; and the king himself wondered and lamented.

A.D. 1767.—When the chancellor of the exchequer proposed in committee that the land-tax should be continued at four shillings in the pound for one year, stating in his sanguine, confident manner, that the money would enable him to set about the most brilliant operation of finance ever seen in England, and to ensure dignity abroad and stability at home, he was opposed by the country gentlemen, who contended for the reduction of the land-tax, as usual in time of peace, to three or even two shillings in the pound, and laughed at his financial vision. Townshend had nobody by him to second his assertions or give him powerful support. The government was accused of promise-breaking and want of faith to the landed interest; Mr. George Grenville moved that the land tax should be reduced to three shillings, and he carried his point by a majority of eighteen against ministers. In our days, a chancellor of the exchequer left in such a predicament would have resigned; but Charles Townshend held on.

Unfortunately the opposition and the ministry had agreed in falling again upon the American colonies. As early as the month of January, George Grenville, the foster-father of the Stamp Act, had proposed "saddling America with 400,000*l.* per annum for the support of troops, &c."* The chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, in answering him, fully agreed as to the principle of the Stamp Act itself, only adding, that the heats which had prevailed had made it an improper time to press that tax. He treated the distinction between external and internal taxation as ridiculous in the opinion of everybody except the Americans; and he, in short, *pledged himself* to the House to find a revenue in the

* Beckford to Chatham; Chatham Correspondence.

colonies sufficient to meet the expenses.* Lord Shelburne, like others, was at a loss to conceive what he meant. His lordship, however, heard from general conversation, that Mr. Townshend had a plan for establishing a board of customs in America, and, by a new regulation of the tea-duty here and some other alterations, to produce a revenue on imports there. "This," added Lord Shelburne, "in many views appears a matter that will *require the deepest consideration at this time especially*. Besides, I believe the speech I have just heard is not the way to make anything go down well in North America."† In fact, at this moment, the colonies, having had time to consider the Earl of Chatham's declaratory bill, were still more dissatisfied with its extreme principles and strong expressions: Lord Shelburne had letters from the king's governors inveighing against the insubordinate spirit of the people, and complaining of the resolution of the houses of assembly not to provide the troops with vinegar and other articles lest their compliance should be deemed a precedent for some new tax act. Chatham, excited by the communication of this intelligence, replied to Lord Shelburne in a violent passion against the Americans, and without expressing any disapprobation of Townshend's exasperating speech and avowed determination of a new taxation scheme. Meanwhile fresh petitions and remonstrances, and bitter complaints against a new Mutiny Act, kept pouring in from the colonies. Shelburne found himself obliged to speak of the declaratory act in a style which could not have been very agreeable to the Earl of Chatham. "That act," says his lordship, "asserting the right of parliament, has certainly spread a most unfortunate jealousy and diffidence of government throughout America, and makes them jealous of the least distinction between this country and that, *lest the same principle may be extended to taxing them*." Replying, from his easy chair at Bath, Chatham was more irate than before against the Ame-

* The Earl of Shelburne to Chatham; Chatham Correspondence.

† Id. Id.

ricans, but he seems to have discovered nothing wrong either in the declaratory bill or in the scheme of his colleague and nominee Townshend. He threw the whole blame upon George Grenville. His friend Beckford joined in these sentiments, and in the belief, implied by Chatham, that the Americans in making any attempt at resistance would only seal their ruin. Beckford—they all seem to have regarded the matter in a frenzy of passion—exclaims, “The devil has possessed the minds of the North Americans. George Grenville and his Stamp Act raised the foul fiend; a prudent firmness will lay him, I hope, for ever.”

Townshend's bill, imposing duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painter's colours, and tea, payable upon the importation into the colonies, and to be applied to the purposes specified in the Stamp Act, was carried through both houses of parliament with as much ease as if it had been a turnpike bill. And the same facility attended another act by which these duties, and all other customs and duties in the American colonies, were put under the management of the king's resident commissioners. Moreover, a third bill was passed, prohibiting the governor, council, and assembly of New York, from passing any legislative act, for any purposes whatsoever, till satisfaction should be given as to the treatment of the commissioners and troops, and submission paid to the Mutiny Act. Parliament was prorogued on the 2nd of July.

Charles Townshend, aspiring to be the real head of a ministry, had opened negotiations with the Rockingham party; Lord Northington, as well as General Conway, had expressed a strong desire to resign; the Duke of Grafton seemed to regret the hours which business stole from pleasure; and the whole cabinet was a very Babel of confusion. About the middle of February Chatham seemed roused by a jealousy of Charles Townshend, and by the constant prayers and entreaties that were sent down to him; and he then actually began his journey towards London. But on the 17th of that month a doleful letter arrived, stating that the gout had re-

turned very severely, and had stopped his lordship at Marlborough. There he remained at the inn a whole fortnight. As affairs of the utmost importance were depending, the Duke of Grafton offered to go down to Marlborough to receive his directions *vivâ voce*. This seemingly natural proposition was declined in Chatham's usual pomposity of style. At last, early in March, he reached London; but he declared himself to be wholly incompetent to the transaction of public business, and immediately retired to North-End, Hampstead. Even at that suburban retreat he refused to transact any business or to see any of his colleagues; although, at the time, he was well enough to drive about Hampstead-heath in his carriage.* In the month of May, when the Duke of Grafton was more embarrassed than ever, and particularly alarmed by two unfavourable divisions in the House of Lords, he had again entreated to be allowed to wait personally upon the determined recluse. Nothing could be more earnest—no great man could be more condescending, and yet Chatham returned another circumlocutory yet positive negative. Two days after this the Duke of Grafton again made a strong appeal, stating that other lords had come down from their beds to support government; that the king was of opinion that Lord Chatham's presence and advice "might still reinstate and give administration some consistence again;" that his majesty had no expectation of being relieved from an embarrassing dilemma but by his lordship's counsel and advice. But Chatham would send neither advice nor commands, and repeated his protestation that it was impossible for him either to see the Duke of Grafton or to attend to any business. The day after Grafton received this austere answer from North-End (on the 30th of May), the king himself took up the pen and became a suppliant. "No one," wrote his majesty, "has more cautiously avoided writing to you than myself, during your late indisposition; but the moment is so extremely critical, that I cannot possibly delay it any longer . . .

* Lord Chesterfield's Letters.

Your duty and affection for my person, your own honour, call on you to make an effort; five minutes' conversation with you would raise his (Grafton's) spirits, for his heart is good; mine, I thank heaven, want no rousing; my love to my country, as well as what I owe to my own character and to my family, prompt me not to yield to faction. Be firm, and you will find me amply ready to take as active a part as the hour seems to require. *Though none of my ministers stand by me, I cannot truckle.* I wish a few lines in answer, as I am to have the Duke of Grafton with me this evening; and if you cannot come to me to-morrow, I am ready to call at North-End on my return that evening to this place."*

This was a home-thrust there was no parrying, and, preferring Grafton's visit to the king's, Chatham replied he was penetrated and overwhelmed with his majesty's letter, and the boundless extent of his royal goodness; that, incapable and ill as he was, he would obey his majesty's commands, and beg to see the Duke of Grafton to-morrow morning, though hopeless of being able to add weight to his majesty's gracious wishes. But later in the day, fearing that Grafton's visit to him and his waiting upon the king afterwards might be coupled together, he wrote again to say that in seeing the duke he did not understand it to be his majesty's pleasure that he should attend his majesty any part of the day to-morrow—"the weight of such an audience being more than he could sustain in his present weakness of nerves and spirits." The king was then obliged to say that Chatham's seeing the Duke of Grafton would answer every purpose; and accordingly the duke posted down to North-End. But, for any useful purpose, his grace might as well have remained in Downing-street, or posted away to his favourite resort, Newmarket. Chatham would hardly enter upon any business, reported to the king that his grace's visit and his late efforts had produced an unfavourable effect upon his health, and then very reluc-

* Chatham Correspondence.

tantly consented to see his grace once more at North-End. In the month of June several urgent notes were written by the king to his lord privy seal; but Chatham, upon paper, laid himself with all duty and submission at his majesty's feet, penetrated with the excess of his majesty's goodness, &c.,—and continued to complain of his nerves and his gout, and to do nothing. But neither he nor any one of his family seems to have reflected for a moment that one who was sick and could not, or obstinate and would not, do the commonest duties of his office ought to resign.

Soon after the rising of Parliament, the king authorised the Duke of Grafton to open a direct negotiation with the Marquess of Rockingham. Grafton offered the Marquess his own place of first lord of the treasury. Rockingham replied that he must consult his friends, and then he went down to Woburn to confer with the Duke of Bedford. A sort of compromise was made; but when Rockingham proposed that General Conway should continue to be one of the secretaries of state, with the management of the House of Commons, the Duke of Bedford positively refused his assent, insisting that Conway's offices should be given to his own personal friend, Mr. Rigby. Upon this difference the meeting broke up, and another conference, held a few days after, was equally unproductive of results or union. It is believed that Charles Townshend had gratified the king by his tone and conduct, and, in an especial manner, by the alacrity he had shown on the subject of American taxation. His interest was sufficient to procure for his brother, Lord Townshend, the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, and for his wife (following in the latter particular the precedent of Pitt) a peerage, under the title of Baroness of Greenwich, with remainder to her issue male by her present husband. All this was interpreted into proof that Charles Townshend was destined to change his post of chancellor of the exchequer for that of Premier: but on the 4th of September, he was suddenly cut off by a putrid fever, in the forty-second year of his age. This death necessitated very different arrangements. Chatham was again applied

to for his advice and assistance; but he had gone from North-End to Bath, and, apparently, would do nothing. Lord North and Lord Barrington having both refused the chancellorship of the exchequer, the seals of that office were (merely to prevent the interruption of the public business) intrusted, till some arrangement should be made, to Lord Mansfield, chief justice of the King's Bench.

The ministry was in this unsettled state when Parliament met, on the 24th of November. The speech from the throne announced, that the members were called together merely to transact some urgent public business, in order that a dissolution might take place, that business being over, without inconvenience to the country.

The principal matter was the high price of corn, with the consequent sufferings of the poor,—a subject impressed on Parliament by some strong petitions. They immediately passed an act to extend the prohibition against exportation, and to encourage the importation of grain. When this was done, or while it was doing, Lord North was prevailed upon by the Princess Dowager of Wales and his father, the Earl of Guildford, to accept the difficult place of chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Thomas Townshend, a cousin of the late Mr. Charles Townshend, succeeded North as joint paymaster of the forces, and Mr. Thomas Townshend's place, as one of the lords of the treasury, was given to Mr. Jenkinson, formerly Lord Bute's private secretary, and eventually Earl of Liverpool. Shortly after this, General Conway and Lord Northington insisted upon resigning,* and fresh overtures

* General Conway was in the habit of saying, that to a man of any spirit no life could be so insupportable as a ministerial one at this moment, and that it was impossible for a person who had not gone through the ordeal to form any conception of the manœuvres, intrigues, and cabals that prevailed. In the course of a debate, in December, 1768, he said,—“There are so many great men in the world, and so many little ones belonging to them, that it is *impracticable for any party to set up a firm administration*. I have long laid aside ministerial ambition. I was a minister *malgré moi*.”

Cavendish's Debates.

were made to the Duke of Bedford, who substituted Viscount Weymouth for Rigby, as the proper person to be secretary of state in lieu of Conway, and proposed Lord Gower as president of the council in the place of Lord Northampton. This was agreed to, and a day or two after the Earl of Hillsborough was appointed third secretary of state, a new office, devoted exclusively to American affairs, which seemed to be required by the importance of the colonies, and the increasing difficulty of managing them. Lord Hillsborough, who had been joint paymaster with Lord North, was succeeded in that half office by the Duke of Bedford's ally, or protégé, Lord Sandwich. General Conway was appointed lieutenant-general of ordnance, a post which had been vacated by Lord Townshend. The ministry thus re-constructed took the name of the Duke of Grafton's administration. The Earl of Chatham was not cured or affected by its new materials—he kept aloof at Bath, or at Burton Pynsent, was exceedingly vapourish, and would neither see nor speak to anybody. By this time, or shortly after, Lord Chesterfield had come to the conclusion that he was mad. He removed from Bath to his old residence at Hayes, in Kent, where he continued to deny himself, or to be denied, to all the world. But sane or insane, Chatham kept the privy seal, and the king was evidently afraid to demand it back.*

A.D. 1768.—Parliament was prorogued on the 10th of March, and, two days afterwards, dissolved by proclamation. It had nearly completed its full legal term of seven years.

Scarcely were the writs issued for a general election, when John Wilkes stepped upon the stage, once more, to increase the ordinary storm and tumult by offering

* It is quite clear, from the tone of the king's letters to Chatham, that he dreaded the great orator more as an antagonist, than he wished for him as a minister; and that his majesty felt convinced that, if Chatham were dismissed, it was not his gout that would long prevent him from heading the opposition.

himself as a candidate. Mephistopheles himself could not have chosen a better time for mischief. The poorer people were hungry and discontented, the richest divided into furious factions, and all classes had lost their quieting confidence in the honour and ability of public men. Since Pitt's eclipse under the peerage they had taken no new idol to worship; but the intensity of feeling which formerly went in that way was now turned, very generally, into hatred and scorn of all the members of the present cabinet. The outlaw had arrived in England on the 6th or 7th of February, after a visit paid to him at Ostend by Mr. Coates, who thought that he might secure his election for Westminster, as he had a good interest there through Mr. John Churchill, the brother of the poet, and many other friends; but Wilkes preferred trying the city. "His situation at Paris," says his biographer, "was become disagreeable, for his necessities had compelled him to contract many debts there, and he could draw no more money from England. His affairs were desperate; but his popularity in England was high."*

He lay *perdu* at Mr. Hayley's, in Great Alie-street, Goodman's-fields, till the general election came on; but, on the 4th of March, he wrote a supplicating letter to the king, which was delivered by his servant at Queen's Palace. No notice whatever was taken of the letter, which was delivered in so irregular a manner; and, when Wilkes appeared publicly in the streets of London to stand for the city, the outlawry was in full force against him. The populace received him with tremendous acclamations, but on the poll he was left in a minority, though 1247 liverymen voted for him.† Rejected by the city, but not discouraged, he immediately offered himself for the county; and the freeholders of Middlesex returned him by a very large majority. The mob was in a

* Almon.

† This gave great dissatisfaction to the London mob, who, at the close of the election, broke the iron gates in front of Guildhall to pieces, demolished the lamps, and did other damage.

transport of joy; they made the air ring with shouts of "Wilkes and liberty!" and they not only broke Lord Bute's windows in the west end, but also the Mansion-house windows in the east. This was nothing more than a common election episode, but the court and a part of the cabinet gave to it a great deal of importance, and already began to talk of the necessity of strong measures. It was this exaggerating and vindictive spirit that had given Wilkes his real importance.

The new parliament met on the 10th of May. An order was voted that the proper crown officer should report why the laws had not been put in force against John Wilkes as an outlaw. Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of May.

But before the prorogation Wilkes was a close prisoner. Having secured his election for Middlesex at the end of March, he, on the 20th of April, appeared in the Court of King's Bench and declared himself ready to submit to the laws of his country. But Lord Mansfield suggested, that, as he was not before the court by any legal process, the court could not take any notice of this voluntary appearance; and he was permitted to depart at perfect liberty. But a few days after, what is termed a writ of *capias utlegatum* was issued against him: and on the 27th of April he was brought into court in custody. Serjeant Glynn, his counsel, pointed out several errors in the outlawry, and offered bail to any amount. Thurlow replied; bail was refused, and Wilkes was committed to the custody of the marshal of the King's Bench prison. As he was proceeding in a hackney-coach over Westminster-bridge, the London mob, shouting "Wilkes and liberty!" stopped the carriage, took out the horses, and dragged him in triumph through the City to a public-house in Spital-fields, where they kept him till near the hour of midnight; but when the people dispersed, he repaired in a quieter manner to the marshal of the King's Bench, who had been compelled to quit the coach and his prisoner at Temple-bar, and surrendered himself. On the following morning, as soon as it was known that the *patriot* was in durance, great crowds began to collect outside of

the walls; and as this continued, together with a terrible strife of tongues, an order was sent to the Horse-Guards, and a body of soldiers were stationed near the prison. This increased the popular excitement; and every day for nearly a fortnight the mob abused the soldiers, and the soldiers—if we are to believe some accounts—threatened the mob. In this temper the 10th of May, the day for the opening of the new parliament, arrived; and as the people had taken it into their heads that neither the walls of the King's Bench, nor any walls or laws whatsoever, could hinder Mr. Wilkes from taking that seat in the House of Commons to which he had been elected by the freeholders of Middlesex, they assembled in greater numbers, and with a louder noise than ever, to have the honour of escorting him to Westminster. But the gates remained closed, the patriot unseen. A tremendous uproar ensued: the soldiers, considerably reinforced, put themselves in motion, and two of the Surrey magistrates, Messrs. Gillam and Ponton, began, or attempted to begin, to read the Riot Act. Their voices were drowned in the shouts of the mob and the roll of the drum; and dirt and stones were thrown at them and at the soldiers. By a fatality which attended all these Wilkes transactions, the companies selected for this service were nearly all Highlanders or Lowland Scots. One Donald Maclean, with two other hot Macs, broke away from the ranks, gave chase to one of the mob who had been pelting them, and shot a young man named Allen in a cowhouse hard by in St. George's Fields. Meanwhile, in the grander scene of action, the riot had increased. With more precipitancy, certainly, than would be approved of at the present day, orders were given to the troops to fire upon the people; and at one volley six were killed, and fourteen or sixteen badly wounded.* The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Donald Maclean for shooting Allen; and charged his comrade, Donald Maclaury, and

* Ann. Reg.—Gent. Mag.—and other periodical publications of the day.

his commanding officer, Ensign Murray, with aiding and abetting. Maclean was given up and conveyed to prison, not without risk of being torn to pieces by the infuriated people. Ensign Alexander Murray had a warrant issued against him as an accessory; and Mr. Gillam, one of the Surrey magistrates, who had ordered the military to fire, was indicted for murder. But, on the other side, the new parliament then sitting voted very loyal addresses on the occasion, with assurances of their hearty concurrence in every measure that might enable his majesty to maintain the authority of the laws; and thanks were ostentatiously returned by Lord Barrington, the secretary-at-war, in the king's name, to the officers and men employed on this always odious service. If nothing more, the latter step was a political mistake. It was thus considered, we believe, even in the army itself.* With the populace it added fuel to the fire; and the exploit for which his majesty had applauded the soldiery got and kept the name of the "Massacre of St. George's Fields." At the same time riots and disturbances, unconnected with politics, but probably heightened by a spirit of imitation, broke out in the east end of the capital among coal-heavers, sailors, and watermen, who complained of low wages, and of frauds practised upon them by their employers. Stepney Fields became a scene of combat as well as St. George's Fields; and the civil force was found not sufficient to dissipate the combatants without calling in the military.

On the 6th of June Wilkes's case was heard in the court of King's Bench. As he had returned to his country and surrendered, the outlawry against him was reversed; but he was sentenced for the republication of the North Briton No. 45, to pay a fine of 500*l.* and be ten calendar months (he had already been imprisoned two months); and for publishing the Essay on Woman

* This letter was read to the men the very next day. A copy of it got into the orderly-book, and from thence into the newspapers.—*The Political Life of William Wildman, Viscount Barrington, by his brother, Shute, Bishop of Durham.*

to pay a fine of 500*l.* and be imprisoned twelve calendar months, to be computed from the expiration of the term of the former imprisonment: and that he should afterwards find security for good behaviour for seven years; himself in the sum of 1000*l.*, and two sureties in 500*l.* each.

For weeks and months Wilkes's business occupied the attention of court and cabinet to the exclusion of almost everything else. In July, Gillam, the Surrey magistrate, was put upon his trial for murder. He was defended by the attorney and solicitor-general, and acquitted by the jury. In August, Donald Maclean was tried and acquitted also. It was at this moment, when the ministry was staggering and reeling under a greater weight of unpopularity than had been known for ages, that the Earl of Chatham chose to withdraw his name, as he had long done his person, from it. It has been shrewdly conjectured that he had clung to office thus long, *only that he might find some striking and popular occasion for resignation.** Notwithstanding his former declamations against Wilkes personally, he certainly gave a pretty strong proof, just at this time, that he was not disposed to take part with the opponents of the popular idol or his friends. The Duke of Grafton hastened to represent that Chatham's retirement at this critical moment would be unfavourable to the king's service and unfair to himself. "Having myself," he said, "given way some time ago to your entreaties to me to remain in my present post, *when your health was at least as bad as it now is*, I have some right to claim from you a return of the same conduct, when I see, as your lordship was pleased then to say, that nothing could be so truly serviceable to his majesty's affairs." His majesty tried what he could himself do with his refractory patient, and wrote him a most earnest letter. "As you entered upon this employment," said the king, "in August, 1766, at my own requisition, I think I have a right *to insist* on your remaining in my service; for I with pleasure look forward to the time of your recovery,

* Quarterly Review, No. cxxxi.

when I may have your assistance in resisting the torrent of factions this country so much labours under. This thought is the more frequent in my mind, as the lord chancellor and the Duke of Grafton take every opportunity to declare warmly to me their desire of seeing that: therefore, I again repeat it, you must not think of retiring, but of pursuing what may be most conducive to restore your health, and to my seeing you take a public share in my affairs." The answer the king got was in the great orator's very worst fustian. Affliction, submission, gratitude, veneration, despair figured through the page, but the end of all was, that the Earl of Chatham was not to be moved even by royal prayers, but insisted upon resigning.

The Earl of Bristol then accepted the privy seal, to hold it as long as this strange disjointed ministry should keep together. On the 21st of October Lord Shelburne was forced to resign his seals of secretary of state, which were given to the Earl of Rochford. As to the great man who had been so long doing nothing, his resignation excited no more interest than that of a boroughreeve or a parish clerk. Even his admiring biographer finds himself obliged to make this humiliating confession:—"A greater contrast in the feelings of the cabinet and of the nation upon the present resignation of Lord Chatham to those which were evinced upon his dismissal from office in 1757, and upon his retirement in 1761, can scarcely be imagined. His dismissal in 1757 excited one common cry of enthusiastic admiration towards himself and of indignation towards his political opponents. The attention, not only of Great Britain, but of the whole of Europe, was attracted by his resignation in 1761; and, although the voices of his countrymen were not so universally united in his favour as upon the former occasion, the event was considered as affecting the interests of nations in the four quarters of the globe. The resignation of Lord Chatham in 1768 was in fact nothing more than the official relinquishment of an appointment in which he had long ceased to exercise his authority or to exert his abilities. It was expected by the ministry—

it was little regarded by the people of Great Britain—it was almost unknown to the continent of Europe.”*

In the meantime Wilkes's friend, Serjeant Glynn, had come off triumphantly in Middlesex; and Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, who had vainly solicited the support of Chatham, had not only lost his election, but had found himself involved in some very serious electioneering troubles. Some of his chairmen killed a man of the name of Clarke in an affray. Such accidents were not very uncommon on such occasions, but as Sir William was a ministerial candidate, and as the popular animosity was at its height, terrible accusations and surmises were circulated. The baronet was represented as an employer of assassins; two of his chairmen were indicted for wilful murder; and when they were tried at the Old Bailey (in the month of January following) the jury returned a verdict of guilty against one of them, who answered to the name of *Mac Quick*. The populace testified their joy by shouting and clapping their hands; but the government stepped in with a respite, and, not long after, with a free pardon. The people were far too much excited to admit that violence had been used on both sides, and that, at most, the offence of the chairman amounted to manslaughter.†

Parliament assembled on the 8th of November, the Duke of Grafton remaining reluctantly at the head of the unpopular ministry. The speech from the throne alluded to fresh troubles in America, and denounced in strong terms the *rebellious spirit* which prevailed in Massachusetts Bay.

On the 14th, before the session was a week old, the Wilkes war was recommenced with more *acharnement* than ever. Sir Joseph Mawbey, one of the members for Southwark, presented a petition from the inmate of the

* Thackeray, *Life of Chatham*.

† It is quite certain that the popular party, as well as the court party, had their hired mobs at Brentford. The vile practice was universal, except in cases of rotten boroughs or in places so absolutely under the control of some great man that no opposition could be offered.

King's Bench, reciting all the proceedings of government against him, and claiming redress and liberty as a member of parliament. After much violent discussion, and several close divisions, it was agreed that the petitioner, Mr. Wilkes, should have liberty to attend the House to support the allegations of his petition, and should also be allowed the assistance of counsel. The day fixed for his appearance was the 2nd of December. But, on the 23rd of November, Sir William Meredith moved for an inquiry into the melancholy occurrences in St. George's Fields and the conduct of the military on that occasion. Sir William was very severe against the noble secretary-at-war for writing the letter of thanks to the troops. Lord Barrington said that he was not the least flurried—that his sleep would not be discomposed—that he had done nothing but what he was justified in—and the motion was negatived. Subsequently it was renewed by Mr. Burke, now acting as a leader of the Rockingham section of opposition in the Commons. The motion was, however, again negatived by a great majority. Before the 2nd of December arrived the House postponed the hearing of Wilkes's petition, and this postponement was repeated several times.*

A.D. 1769.—Wilkes and his counsel were yet unheard, when, on the 23rd of January, it was moved by Mr. Joseph Martin, one of the members for Gatton, “that John Wilkes, Esq., although he is convicted of publishing a seditious libel, is entitled to privilege of parliament.” Lord North, now chancellor of the exchequer, moved, as an amendment, a sentence which very materially changed the aspect and animus of Martin's motion, and which was carried, after a hot debate, by a majority of 165 to 71—“That John Wilkes, Esq., although he is convicted of printing and publishing a *malignant, seditious and scandalous* libel, and of printing and publishing *three*

* Notes of the several spirited debates which preceded these adjournments are given in Sir H. Cavendish's *Debates*. Burke spoke very eloquently on one occasion. He exclaimed—“*Our privilege has received a wound: it is our business not to make it a mortal one!*”

obscene and impious libels, and now stands committed to the King's Bench prison by virtue of two several judgments in the Court of King's Bench for the said offences, is entitled by privilege of parliament to be discharged from his imprisonment for the said offences." Martin complained of unfairness; but the main question was put in this altered shape, and was, as a matter of course, negatived at once.

On the 31st of January Wilkes appeared as a prisoner at the bar of the House. He objected that, as a member, he could not legally appear there, without taking the oaths; but this objection was over-ruled. After various other preceedings, Lord Barrington, on the 3rd of February moved—"That John Wilkes, Esq., a member of this House, who hath at the bar of this House certified himself to be the author and publisher of what this house has resolved to be an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, and who has been convicted in the court of King's Bench of having printed and published a seditious libel and three obscene impious libels, and by the judgment of the said Court has been sentenced to undergo twenty-two months' imprisonment, and is now in execution under the said judgment, be expelled this House." This was carried by 219 against 137, but the debate was long and vehement, and several admired speeches were made against the motion, by Burke, Mr. Cornwall, Mr. George Grenville, the Earl of Chatham's friend Mr. Beckford, his brother Mr. Thomas Pitt, and others. Burke, with equal humour and truth, called this the fifth act of the *tragi-comedy* acted by his majesty's servants for the *benefit* of Mr. Wilkes, and at the *expense* of the constitution. Wilkes, in fact, after indulging in many witticisms at the expense of his moral adversaries, said that he would stand again for Middlesex, and that he was quite sure no ministerial candidate would have a chance against him. The event justified his boast. At a meeting of freeholders he was proposed by James Townshend, Esq., member for West Looe, who was seconded by the member for Hithe, Alderman Sawbridge, brother to the well known Catherine Macauley.

His nomination was hailed with enthusiasm. A Mr. Dingley, a mercantile speculator of London—a man of many trades—who had intended to get himself proposed, took fright and retired without being named; and on the 16th of February, thirteen days after his expulsion, Wilkes was re-elected without opposition. On the very next day Lord Strange moved in the Commons, “That John Wilkes, Esq., having been in this session of parliament expelled this House, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament.” Mr. Dowdeswell, the ex-chancellor of the exchequer, spoke strongly against the doctrine thus attempted to be established, that a member once expelled is incapable of re-election to the same parliament, and ridiculed the notion of making Wilkes’s morals a ground of expulsion. “If this,” said he, “is to be your rule, where will you stop? You have turned one out for impiety and obscenity: when half a dozen members meet over their bottle, is their discourse entirely free from obscenity, impiety, and abuse of government? Even in the cabinet, that pious reforming society!—why, were Mr. Wilkes to be adjudged there, and the innocent man to throw the first stone, they would sink out one by one, and leave the culprit uncondemned!” This satire told the better as all the world was acquainted with the irregularities of the Duke of Grafton, Lord Sandwich, and other members of the administration; but the Commons, nevertheless, rejected an amendment proposed by Mr. Dowdeswell, by a majority of 228 to 102, and then adopted Lord Strange’s motion by a majority of 236 to 89.* The prisoner in the King’s Bench laughed, and said he would try again.

Great efforts were made in the city of London by the ministerial party, who were said to be assisted by money from the treasury; but Wilkes had not only the public press and the mob, but also many of the most considerable merchants on his side, which they thought the side of liberty. A meeting was called on the 6th of

* Cavendish.

March, at the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill, by Mr. Dingley, who was anxious to try his fortune at the hustings once more, and who now proposed a loyal address to his majesty, in contradiction of certain instructions which the City had prepared. But, though they had gone to a loyal tavern, they could not keep out the Wilkites, and the consequence was a scuffle, which is thus related by Earl Temple to the Chathams:—"The Dingleyans, apprehensive of being outvoted, had prepared an address, ready cut and dried; words ensued, and the hero of the meeting, Master Dingley, struck Wilkes's attorney, who knocked him down in return, and bade him go to the treasury for more money, as next term he should be put in the crown-office. Dingley was then deprived of the honour of presiding, and Vaughan, the merchant, put in the chair, who had taken the lead in the City instructions. The Dingley party retired from the field of battle, and a committee was appointed to draw up an address."* In a second attempt, made in another place, the Dingleyans were more successful; but the saturnalia continued and grew worse. On the 22nd of March, when they went to present their loyal address to the king, they were beset by a countless mob shouting "Wilkes and liberty! Liberty and Wilkes for ever!" and pelting them with the contents of the kennels. Nor was this all; for some ingenious mischief-maker had procured an undertaker's hearse, and had partially covered it with paintings or daubs representing the death of young Allen in St. George's Fields, and the murder at Brentford by Sir William Proctor's chairmen; and this lugubrious vehicle, with its bloody decorations, was dragged slowly along at the head of the procession. As the mob became more excited they threw stones as well as dirt, and so terrified those who were going up with the address, that many of them stopped their coaches and went off from the scene of danger by by-streets, or ran into some friendly house. The braver continued their slow drive, still preceded

* Chatham Correspondence.

by the hearse, which never halted till it came in front of the gates of St. James's Palace. There Lord Talbot rushed out and seized two of the mob, and the soldiers on duty seized fifteen more.* The hearse was then removed, and the loyal address was carried in amidst hisses and execrations. The seventeen men seized were carried to prison; but their sufferings were not great, as the grand jury for Middlesex refused to find bills of indictment against them.

In the meanwhile Wilkes had again been returned for Middlesex. The election took place on the 16th of March, at Brentford. Dingley attempted to get himself named, but he found the timidity of his party so epidemic that he had not one freeholder to attend him, and he could not get near the hustings.† On the following day the House of Commons again declared Wilkes's return to be null and void, and ordered a new writ. There was then sitting in the House, as member for Bossiney, a military officer who was bold enough to conceive that he might assist ministers in their dilemma and run the perilous chances of Brentford with a hope of success. This was Colonel Henry Lawes Luttrell, eldest son of the lately created Irish peer Lord Irnham,‡ a name odious in Ireland, and not as yet at all popular in England. He vacated his seat and offered himself for Middlesex. The House ordered the sheriffs to be attentive to the preservation of the peace, and to appoint a number of extra constables to be on duty at Brentford. Encouraged by this care and by Colonel Luttrell's boldness, two other candidates, Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Roach, offered themselves at the hustings. Contrary to ex-

* Talbot, the same noble lord who had fought a duel with John Wilkes by moonlight, got his staff of lord steward, broke in the scuffle.

† Dingley's own letter.

‡ Afterwards Viscount and Earl of Carhampton (in the Irish peerage). The readers of Junius will recollect a remarkable note relating to this family, attached to the 67th Letter.

pectation, the election, on the 13th of April, passed off quietly; the result of the poll being, for Mr. Wilkes, 1143; for Colonel Luttrell, 296; for Mr. Whitaker, 5; and for Mr. Roach, 0. Illuminations from Northumberland House all through the city testified the popular triumph; but there was no riot or violence. The sheriffs returned Wilkes as duly elected. But on the very next day, the 14th of April, Mr. Onslow moved that the sheriffs of Middlesex should immediately attend the House with the poll. This was agreed to; but, as no previous notice had been given to the sheriffs, those functionaries kept the House waiting a very long time, during which the *members* are stated to have gone into "confusion and riot." At last the sheriffs appeared and presented the poll. But it was now considered that the hour was too late, or the House too much disordered, to enter upon the debate; and a motion was made by the ministry to adjourn to next day, Saturday—a day on which the House never transacted business. The opposition opposed this adjournment to Saturday, as contrary to the custom of parliament; and represented that such a hurrying on of this particular business would seem irregular and unfair, and inflame rather than quiet the minds of the people. Ministers however persisted, and carried their point by a majority of 207 to 115.*

On Saturday, the 15th of April, it was moved by Mr. Onslow, "That Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esq., *ought to have been* returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present parliament for the county of Middlesex." In the animated debate which followed, Mr. George Grenville distinguished himself on the opposition side, and the whole of the Grenville or Temple interest, together with that of the Chatham party, was exerted for Wilkes, or against the return of Luttrell. But upon a division, which did not take place till three o'clock on *Sunday morning*, ministers carried their point by a majority of 197 to 143. The freeholders of Middlesex,

* Parl. Hist.—Letter from Earl Temple to the Countess of Chatham.

keeping in view the poll-books alone, exclaimed against the iniquity of substituting Luttrell with his 296 votes, for Wilkes with his 1143; and they joined in a petition to the king, in which they implored his majesty to dissolve the present parliament. It appears, however, that this petition was set aside for another to the Commons, begging them to rescind their motion about Colonel Luttrell and to admit Mr. Wilkes to his seat. Counsel was heard upon such a petition on the 8th of May; but, after the question had been debated, Luttrell was confirmed in his seat by a majority of 221 to 152.

END OF VOL. XVII.





William Simons
THE

C A B I N E T
HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

BEING
AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,
OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY
HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF
ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

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CABINET HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK X.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1760—1785.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

GEORGE III.—*Continued.*

THIS session committees had been appointed by both Houses to examine and report upon papers relating to American affairs, and submitted to them by the crown. A petition from the people of Boston, the centre of trouble, was contemptuously rejected, and measures of rigour were urged by majorities in both Houses. The Lords, alleging that both the people and the legislature of Massachusetts Bay had been guilty of various illegal and treasonable acts, and that there was no probability of these crimes being properly punished in the country by native courts and juries, recommended, in an address to the king, that the criminals should be brought over to England and tried by a special commission, according to a statute of the 35th of Henry VIII., a most unlucky name to introduce at such a time and in such a cause! It was moved in the Commons that they should concur with their Lordships. Mr. George Grenville opposed the motion, and caused the government some perplexity by contradicting their statement of the occurrences at Boston. The debate was prolonged till three o'clock in the morning. This time at least there was no want of warning voices. Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Pennant, member for Liverpool, Mr. Cornwall, Mr. Burke, Mr. George

Grenville, Alderman Beckford, Colonel Barré, Governor Johnston, and Governor Pownall, all spoke vehemently against the address and the coercive plan of the House of Lords. Mr. Cornwall said, "Let us not put this power into the hands of angry men! Let not parliament go into this odious work." Burke characterised all the preceding measures of government as rash, raw, undigested measures, which had inflamed America from one end of the country to the other. He said the remedy now proposed was not likely to appease, but to exasperate; that they were firing a cannon upon the Americans which would react upon themselves. "At the desire of an exasperated governor," he exclaimed, "we are called upon to agree to an address, advising the king to put in force against the Americans the act of Henry VIII. And why? Because you cannot trust the juries of that country. Sir, that word must convey horror to every feeling mind. If you have not a party among two millions of people, you must either change your plan of government, or renounce the colonies for ever. If the people are uniform, and steady, and united, you never can punish them." Mr. George Grenville, in a long speech, said—"Why have the lords named this act of Henry VIII.—an act which has a very odd meaning?—an act 'concerning the trials of treasons committed out of his majesty's dominions.' Will not the Americans say—We then are out of his majesty's dominions? In the present instance this is a most futile provision, one that cannot be acted upon, and upon which ministers do not intend to act. Do not let us make use of big words, and then suffer ourselves to be laughed at, like ancient Pistol in the play." Beckford, in his usual warm way, exclaimed—"There seems as if there was a regular plan of ruling by a military force *both here and in America!*" Yet, upon a division, it was carried by a majority of 155 against 89 that the House concurred with the Lords in the resolutions and address.

This was on the 26th of January. On the 8th of F

bruary, during a short interval allowed by Wilkes's transcendant affair, the subject was again brought before the House of Commons. The debate was most animated; and this time ministers were still more fully warned of the danger of driving matters to extremities.* Sir William Meredith said, "If I were an American, rather than have the act of Henry VIII. applied to me, I would undergo any degree of suffering. It is giving the Americans a horrid impression of the government of this country, to see them raking into acts of arbitrary times. Lord Bacon says, *that to ramble back into antiquity is the same as to innovate.*" General Conway admitted the importance and the difficulty of the case, but said something must be done: and that no gentleman had substituted any other remedy in the place of the measures proposed by ministers. He then maintained, as many others had done, that there was a wide difference between internal taxes and duties laid upon certain articles, which he called regulations of trade. "The Americans," he continued, "have submitted to thirty acts of parliament; yet the language has been, that they ought not to be taxed by any but themselves." But the longest and in every way most remarkable speech delivered during the night was one from Governor Pownall, who treated the American question in point of law, in relation to commerce, in a military view, and in all its bearings. He had once been governor at Boston himself, and he had the reputation of knowing more about the Bostonians and the colonists in general than any man in the House, so that every word from him was entitled to respect and attention. He reminded them that the crown, in the 8th year of William III., gave its consent to an act of the province of Massachusetts Bay, for regulating trials for high treason within that province according to the act of the 7th of King William; and he held that the crown and parliament could not now, consistently or with justice, issue a commission to bring any delinquent out of the province to try him here in England upon the act of

* Cavendish's Debates.

Henry VIII. He quoted the charters of Massachusetts Bay, of Virginia, of Maryland, which were all decisive against internal taxation, and which all recognised the right of the mother-country to lay duties and customs according to the law of merchants. He called to the recollection of the House the history of the pilgrim fathers, and all the hardships the first British settlers in America had encountered and cheerfully borne, in order to avoid religious persecution and civil slavery in the mother-country. "But now," said he, "that spirit, equally strong and equally inflamed, has but a slight and trifling sacrifice to make: the Americans have not a country to leave, but a country to defend; they have not friends and relations to leave and forsake, but friends and relations to unite with and stand by, in one common union. Gentlemen high in office have been told this, but they will not believe it. The House, if they will not believe it, have been warned of it. The only sacrifice they have to make is that of a few follies and a few luxuries." Yet, upon a division, Mr. Rose Fuller's motion to have the address recommitted was negatived by a majority of 169 against 65.*

On the 14th of March a petition or remonstrance was offered from the people of New York, denying the right of parliament to tax them in any way. It was carried, on the motion of Lord North, that such a paper should not be received. Later in the session Governor Pownall moved, in a long speech, that the revenue acts affecting America should be repealed forthwith. "Every person," it is said, "seemed to agree with his motion; but the ministry complaining that the late time of the session would not allow a matter of so much consequence to be properly agitated, *as they were not prepared for it*, a motion was made to put it off till next session."†

Early in the year it was announced in a message from the king, that, in consequence of a deficiency in some branches of the revenue appropriated to the civil list, he had been obliged to contract debts amounting to 513,511*l.*,

* Cavendish's Debates.

† Parl. Hist.

which his majesty trusted the House would enable him to discharge. The Opposition moved for papers to explain the alleged deficiency. Lord North promised the papers, but hoped they would vote the money first, as the papers could not be prepared immediately. This proposition was combated for two or three days, but in the end the minister succeeded, and the money was voted.

The king went down to prorogue parliament on the 9th of May, which was the day after the last vehement debate and division on Wilkes's election. The mob grossly insulted him as he passed from the palace to the House of Lords. In his speech he said it gave him great concern to be obliged to recommend to them with more than ordinary earnestness, that they would all, in their several counties, exert their utmost efforts for the maintenance of public peace and good order.

The reader has seen how little the Americans were satisfied with the declaratory bill which accompanied the repeal of the Stamp Act. The discontents were increased by the endeavours of government to enforce what was styled the Mutiny Act, but what was more properly an act for quartering and better providing for the troops at the expense of the colonies. It was an act carried through in a hurry at the fag-end of the session, and yet blindly persevered in. In depriving the assembly of New York of its legislative faculties, for opposing this act, ministers threw fresh materials into the black cauldron; and then came Charles Townshend's taxes to make it boil over; and then again, as fuel to keep up the fire beneath it, there arrived at Boston the newly formed American board of commissioners to enforce the payment of the new duties and to put an end to all smuggling. These commissioners could not possibly have been sent to a worse place than Boston. New York, for many reasons, was preferable; but whenever there was a choice to make the cabinet committed a blunder. The colonists read in the preamble to Charles Townshend's act that the duties were laid "for the better support of government and the administration of the colonies;" and they detected a clause in the bill which seemed to enable the

king, by sign manual, to establish a general civil list in every province in North America, with salaries, pensions, &c., &c.* They instantly declared that all this was unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their most important rights; and they insisted that the establishment of any civil list in America independent of the assemblies was altogether illegal. On the 28th of October, 1767, a few gentlemen met at a private club in Boston, the great centre of discontent and pivot of resistance, and arranged plans for making real and effectual the non-importation agreements which had been before suggested. They drew up a bond or subscription paper, whereby the parties signing engaged to encourage the use and consumption of native manufactures only, and to cease importing, buying, or selling anything from Great Britain except a few named indispensable articles; and they appointed a committee to obtain subscriptions to this agreement. One Malcolm, a daring smuggler, who some months before this had fought the custom-house officers sword in hand, and landed sixty pipes of Madeira wine without paying duty, became the most active agent in promoting the non-importation scheme; and he and some of his followers did not hesitate to threaten the persons and houses of such as refused to sign the agreement. The merchants in New York and Philadelphia, however, declined joining in the measure; and the Bostonians for the present gave it up. In the meantime various individuals took up the pen and employed the press to demonstrate the iniquity of the taxing acts, and the little that the American people had to expect from a corrupt and subservient British parliament. The foremost of these writers was Mr. John Dickinson, whose 'Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies' made a deep and lasting impression. Dickinson, however, recommended his countrymen still to have recourse to petitions to the crown and parliament, and to strong instructions to their agents in England, which, in his opinion, would have the same effect now as

* Dr. Gordon, Hist. American Revolution.

they had had at the time of the Stamp Act. Other writers suggested more violent measures, but not one of them ventured to hint at the disseverance of the colonies from the mother-country. On the 15th of February, 1768, the assembly of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to all the other colonies inviting them to combine in taking measures to defeat the obnoxious act. The speaker of the New Hampshire assembly immediately replied, by order of his House, that the sentiments contained in the circular letter were highly approved of; but that, as the time of that House's existence was near expiring, they could not engage for their successors. But other colonies readily adopted the sentiments and the plan contained in the letter, and passed votes of thanks to the authors of it. In the month of April Lord Hillsborough instructed Bernard, the governor of Massachusetts, to require the House of Representatives, in the king's name, to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter, and to declare their disapprobation of that rash and hasty proceeding. The House refused compliance. The very next day Governor Bernard, in pursuance of Lord Hillsborough's positive instructions, dissolved the assembly. By this time associations and committees were formed in most of the provinces. In the month of June the sloop *Liberty* arrived at Boston with another cargo of choice Madeira. The commissioners sent an excise-officer on board, but the skipper and his crew confined the poor man below deck and smuggled the wine on shore without entry at the custom-house or any other formula. The officer was then liberated and threatened with destruction if he noticed what had been done; and the following morning the skipper of the sloop entered at the custom-house four or five pipes, swearing that that was all his cargo. But the commissioners, aware of the truth, ordered a comptroller to seize the sloop and clap the king's broad arrow upon her. As a crowd assembled on the wharfs the comptroller made signals to the *Romney* man-of-war, which was lying at anchor off Boston, and the captain manned his boats and sent them to assist the excise. Malcolm, the bold smuggler we have already

mentioned, who had been actively engaged in running the *Madeira* the day before, was now at the head of a mob of boys and negroes, who attempted to prevent the seizure of the sloop, and pelted the excisemen and the sailors with stones and dirt; but the man-of-war's boats presently cut the sloop from her moorings and carried her under the guns of the *Romney*. The mob on shore continued their riot, beating and nearly killing several of the revenue officers. The commissioners applied to the governor for protection, but the governor told them he had no troops, no force of any kind, and thereupon they fled on board the *Romney*. The capture of the sloop *Liberty* was made on a Friday; Saturday was a busy day, and Sunday was kept very strictly by the New Englanders; but on Monday an immense mob gathered in the streets of Boston; and in the afternoon of that day placards were stuck up to call a meeting of "The Sons of Liberty"* on Tuesday, at ten o'clock. At this meeting they appointed a committee to wait upon the governor to inquire why the sloop had been seized in so arbitrary a manner, which they declared to be an affront offered to the town of Boston. They pretended that she might have been left with perfect safety at the wharf. The magnates of the town affected to disapprove of a riot which not a few of them were suspected of having promoted; but they took care to mention in extenuation the extraordinary circumstances of the said seizure, and the violence and unprecedentedness of that procedure. They offered a reward for the discovery of the ringleaders, and a few vagabonds were pointed out; but Malcolm, the smuggler, and others of that stamp, sat upon the grand jury and quashed all prosecution. It was this fact which seems to have persuaded the ministry at home that offences in America would not be punished by American juries, and which seems to have recommended to their attention the statute of Henry

* The Americans adopted this name out of a speech delivered by Colonel Barré in the House of Commons as early as the year 1765.

VIII. The commissioners, who had left the Romney man-of-war to take up their quarters in Castle William, now applied to General Gage, Colonel Dalrymple, and Commodore Hood for troops to support them in their office. Previously, however, to this application, and even a month or six weeks before the news of these Boston riots could have reached London, ministers had resolved to employ force, and Lord Hillsborough, in a secret and confidential letter, had told General Gage that it was his majesty's pleasure that he should forthwith send from Halifax one regiment or more to Boston, to be quartered in that town, to assist the civil magistrates and the officers of revenue. This letter was dated on the 8th of June; and on the 11th his lordship informed Governor Bernard that his majesty had directed one regiment at least to be stationed in Boston, and had ordered a frigate, two sloops, and two armed cutters to repair to and remain in the harbour of Boston, in order to support and assist the officers of the customs. Fresh appeals were made, by those who had put themselves in the van of the movement, to the hopes, fears, and strongest passions of the American people; and these addresses usually concluded with the significant truism — "United we conquer, divided we die." They called upon all the colonists to resist to the utmost the Mutiny Act, which granted power to every officer, upon obtaining a warrant from any justice, to break into any house by day or by night in search of deserters. They represented that, if the colonists would only cordially agree as to the non-importation, multitudes in Great Britain who lived and thrived by their trade would be reduced to want, and would then, in their desperation, force from parliament the repeal of the acts. In the month of August the merchants and traders of Boston agreed upon a new subscription-paper to this effect:—"We will not send for or import from Great Britain, either upon our own account, or upon commission, this fall, any other goods than what are already ordered for the fall supply. We will not send for or import any kind of goods or merchandise from Great Britain, &c., from the 1st of January, 1769, to the 1st of

January, 1770, except salt, coals, fish-hooks and lines, hemp and duck, bar-lead and shot, wool-cards and card-wire. We will not purchase of any factor or others any kind of goods imported from Great Britain, from January, 1769, to January, 1770. We will not import, on our own account or on commission, or purchase of any who shall import from any other colony in America, from January, 1769, to January, 1770, any tea, paper, glass, or other goods, commonly imported from Great Britain. We will not, from and after the 1st of January, 1769, import into this province any tea, paper, glass, or painters' colours, until the act imposing duties on those articles shall be absolutely repealed."—In the course of the same month the merchants of Connecticut and New York made similar agreements, and in the beginning of September the merchants of Salem did the same.

It appears that it was not till the beginning of September that the people of Boston became fully aware of the intention of government to send troops. On the 12th of that month a meeting was called and a committee appointed to make inquiries of the governor, and to pray him at the same time to convene a general assembly. Governor Bernard said that he had intelligence, of a private nature, that a military force was coming; and that, as to the calling of another assembly, it was a measure not to be complied with till he had received the commands of his majesty. It was then resolved, "That the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston will, at the peril of their lives and fortunes, take all legal and constitutional measures to defend the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities granted in their royal charter." The inhabitants further agreed that a suitable number of persons should now be chosen to act for them as *a committee in Convention*, and to consult and to advise with such as might be sent to join them from the other towns of the province. They fixed a Convention to be held at Faneuil Hall, in Boston on the 22nd of September; and before breaking up they voted, "That, as there is an apprehension in the mind of many of an approaching war with France, those in-

habitants who are not provided be requested to furnish themselves forthwith with arms." This was pretty plain! The approaching war with France was nothing but an ingenious device.

On the 22nd of September, the day appointed, the Convention, consisting of deputies from eight districts and ninety-six towns, met at Faneuil Hall; but the day before the men-of-war and transports from Halifax had safely arrived in Nantasket roads, a few miles below Boston. The Convention therefore merely conferred and consulted, petitioned the governor, made sundry loyal professions, expressed their aversion to standing armies, tumults, and disorders of all kinds, and quietly dispersed. Governor Bernard then attempted to prevail upon the town-council to provide quarters for the troops in Boston; but they refused, and stated that the troops by act of parliament were to be quartered in the barracks, that there were barracks enough at the castle to hold them all, and that it was against law to bring any of them into the town. Colonel Dalrymple, who held the command, had positive orders to land at least one regiment at Boston, and he, of himself, concluded it would be better not to separate his small force. Accordingly, on the last day of September, he left Nantasket roads and sailed up to Boston. The ships of war, consisting of the Romney of sixty guns, the Launceston of forty, the Mermaid of twenty-eight, the Beaver of fourteen, the Senegal of fourteen, the Boneta of ten, and several armed schooners, came to anchor with springs on their cables, with their guns ready shotted, and their broadsides covering the town. Resistance was expected, but none was offered; and, on the following day, the 1st of October, 1768, Colonel Dalrymple landed the two regiments he had brought with him—the 27th and the 14th, who, with train of artillery and all, did not much exceed 700 men. They marched from the landing-place up to the common on the outside of Boston, with drums beating, fifes playing, and colours flying, and receiving no insult except from some lubberly boys and black men who hissed at a distance. In the evening the town-

council was again required to quarter the two regiments in the town, and again they refused, quoting charters and acts of parliament. One of the regiments, who had brought with them no tents or camp equipage of any kind, were *humanely permitted*, or, which is more probable, took permission themselves, to occupy Faneuil Hall; the other regiment lay out all night on the cold common. The following being the Lord's day, no business could be done; and the devout Bostonians groaned in the spirit at the desecration of the Sabbath by drums and files—sounds hitherto unknown on that day in the Presbyterian provinces of New England! Pressed by Colonel Dalrymple and his officers, the governor, towards evening, ordered the Town or State House to be opened to the regiment out on the common. The soldiers instantly came in and took possession of every part of that public building except the great council-chamber. Two field-pieces were placed in front of the edifice, and the main guard was posted at a few yards' distance. These proceedings excited deep resentment, and caused besides many inconveniences, for the lower part of the State House had been used by the merchants as an exchange, and the members of the town-council could no longer get to their hall to transact business without passing through files of soldiers. Having thus obtained quarters, the governor and Colonel Dalrymple required the council to provide barrack provisions, as regulated by the Mutiny Act. The council resolutely replied that they would furnish nothing, and do nothing that might be construed into a submission to that obnoxious law. For the present the Bostonians and their neighbours suppressed their vindictive feelings; but the tranquillity was every moment exposed to the chances of sudden interruption and bloodshed; every one of them looked upon the soldiers as forcible intruders, slavish instruments of tyranny, men without faith or morals; and every soldier had been taught to consider the colonists as smugglers, canting hypocrites, and rebels to a most gracious king. At the same time all possible care was taken by the Bostonians to impart an exaggerated picture

of the injuries and insults they endured to every part of British America. Philadelphia, which had hitherto been inclined to moderation and compromises, now spoke in a louder tone, and other towns which had been violent from the beginning now became more intemperate. In the month of May, 1769, the Virginia House of Burgesses voted a series of strong resolutions, followed by an address to the king. Lord Bottetourt, their governor, hastened to dissolve them; but they repaired forthwith to the Raleigh tavern, and in a room, which bore the name of "Apollo," they entered into the articles of the agreement, or, as it was now termed, "the association," by which they pledged their honour not to import British merchandise so long as the acts of parliament for raising a revenue in America remained unrepealed. Among the eighty-eight signatures to this Virginia association were those of George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and others, who afterwards took the lead in the great struggle.* On returning to their respective counties all these Virginia members were re-elected for the next assembly; and the small minority who had opposed the resolutions were rejected to a man. The gentlemen and merchants of Maryland and South Carolina followed the example of Virginia, and signed the association. Trade with the Rhode-Islanders and the Georgians was broken off, and those colonies were put under a kind of ban and interdict "for having acted a weak and infamous part from the beginning of the present struggle for the preservation of American rights." The Georgians made haste to remove this excommunication and joined the non-importation association. The Rhode-Islanders and the people of North Carolina soon followed; and, partly through conviction, partly through coercion, the merchants of all the other colonies and towns, with the single exception of Portsmouth, the sole

* The Life of Thomas Jefferson, with Parts of his Correspondence, never before published. By George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia. London, 1837.

seaport in New Hampshire, joined and signed the bond. It must be confessed that a deal of tyranny was exercised in sowing these seeds of liberty. The houses of the merchants who refused compliance were surrounded by organised mobs, who threatened destruction, not only to house and goods, but also to life or limbs. These threats, not always unattended with actual deeds of violence, generally drove the merchants to the committees; and they signed the agreement and gave up trade rather than risk everything by selling British goods. The "Daughters of Liberty"—for the American ladies had taken their part of Colonel Barré's compliment—entered into associations among themselves proscribing the use of tea.

Meanwhile the storm thickened at Boston. At the end of May, the assembly being called together, a committee from the House of Representatives remonstrated with the governor, complaining of an armament investing their metropolis, of the military guard, of cannon pointed at the door of their State House, and requesting his excellency, as his majesty's representative, to give effectual orders for the removal of the ships and troops. Governor Bernard, who had certainly become less courteous since the arrival of the armament, replied drily, "Gentlemen, I have no authority over his majesty's ships in this port, or over his troops within this town." A few days after the House declared that the use of the military power to enforce the execution of the laws was inconsistent with the spirit of a free constitution, and that they would not do any business, surrounded as they were with an armed force, threatening their privileges and their personal security. The governor thought to remove the latter strong objection by adjourning the assembly to Cambridge, a town separated from Boston by narrow arm of the sea, in which there were no troops. But they were not likely to be more compliant at Cambridge than they had been at Boston. They voted "That the establishment of a standing army in the colony in time of peace is an invasion of natural right—that a standing army is not known as a part of t

British constitution; that sending an armed force into the colony, under a pretence of assisting the civil authority, is highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented, and unconstitutional." They refused to make any provision for the troops, and they were thereupon prorogued by the governor, to meet at Boston in the month of January, 1770. The king, to testify his approbation, created General Bernard a baronet, and took upon himself the whole expense of passing the patent. Sir Francis left the colony on the 1st of August, as poor as when he came there eleven years before, and followed by very few regrets. Before his departure an affray took place in a coffee-house between Mr. Robinson, one of the board of commissioners, and Mr. Otis, one of the patriots, or leaders of the opposition, in the assembly. In consequence of a newspaper attack the commissioner attempted to pull the patriot's nose—the patriot knocked the commissioner down,—friends interfered on either side, and a combat with fists and canes became general. It may be fancied that the excise party proved the weaker—Robinson and his friends were compelled to retreat by a back door. If a few soldiers had chanced to pass at the time there would probably have been bloodshed. Meanwhile smuggling went on in spite of troops, ships, and commissioners; and the Bostonians had adopted the practice of tarring and feathering all informers, or all who attempted to assist the government in any way. The process was to strip the patient naked, tar him all over, roll him in feathers, and then drive him out into the streets. The brutal operation was often attended with violence that destroyed health or life!

Shortly after the rising of the English parliament (on the 9th of May, 1769) Lord Hillsborough had written a circular letter to the colonies stating that in the very next session the duties upon glass, paper, and painters' colours, would be taken off, as contrary to the true principles of commerce. But this would leave the duty upon tea; and his lordship said nothing about repealing the odious clauses in the Mutiny Act. Moreover, the colonists complained that his letter spoke of commercial expediency,

and not of the right they claimed to pay no taxes whatever without their own consent. Various other causes are stated to show how Lord Hillsborough's letter failed of producing any tranquillizing effect, and to demonstrate that it ought so to have failed. It will perhaps be sufficient to say, that the storm had now risen too high to be calmed by a little oil thrown upon its waves.*

The city of London was scarcely more tranquil or more contented than Boston. From the prorogation of parliament in May to its ~~third~~ reassembling in January, little was seen or heard but noise, strife, faction, and confusion. The Earl of Chatham was no stranger to the movements; the Earl of Temple gave most of them his open countenance and assistance, and did not disdain to make use of John Wilkes as a bugbear to the court, and as a model patriot to the people. Liberal subscriptions were made to pay Wilkes's fines, and to provide for his subsistence when his imprisonment should expire.† D

* Gordon, Hist. Amer. Revolution.—The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American Wars; by C. Stedman, who served under Sir W. Howe, Sir H. Clinton, and the Marquess Cornwallis.—Tucker, Life of Jefferson.

† As early as the 20th of February (three days after the last declaration of the Commons that Wilkes was incapable of being a member), a large and respectable meeting was held at the London Tavern, and was attended by many of the opposition members. A subscription was set on foot, and the sum of 3340*l.* subscribed on the spot. A paper was widely distributed, and a committee was appointed to carry on the subscription throughout England. On the 7th of March the society called "The Supporters of the Bill of Rights" had a meeting at the London Tavern, and sent Wilkes 300*l.* for his immediate necessities, and instituted an inquiry into the state of his debts. On the 6th of June, at another meeting of the same society it was reported that Wilkes's debts amounted to 17,000*l.*, 7000*l.* of which had been already compromised; and a circular letter was agreed upon to forward the subscription. On the same day, on opening the will of a country gentleman, there was found a legacy of 2000*l.* "to that true Englishman and patriot John Wilkes, Esq." On the 23rd

ners, attended by Burke, Thomas Pitt, Alderman Beckford, Lord Clive, Lord John Cavendish, Colonel Barré, Admiral Keppel, Mr. Byng, and many other parliament men of rank and consideration, were held at the Thatched-house Tavern, where, among other toasts, was drunk—"May future administrations not be so remarkable for incapacity as the present." Allen, the father of the unfortunate youth killed in St. George's Fields, was sent up to St. James's with a petition, demanding "justice upon the cruel murderers of his beloved child, whose blood cried aloud for vengeance." To keep the odium alive, a tombstone, with long and exciting inscriptions, was placed over the youth's grave. On the 24th of May a petition was presented to the House of Commons from 1565 freeholders of the county of Middlesex, who criticised all public measures since his majesty's accession, and who asked nothing less than the immediate dismissal of ministers as enemies to freedom everywhere, and traitors to their country. The city of London was only a few days behind the county of Middlesex, and their petition, which was presented in full levee, was equally violent. Westminster contented herself with demanding an immediate dissolution of parliament; and her petition served as a model for many counties, cities, and towns throughout the kingdom. So much vehemence and discontent had not been witnessed in England for nearly a century.

A new enemy, too, terrible and mysterious—in some respects far more bitter and dangerous than John Wilkes,—had taken the field. This was the anonymous author of Junius's Letters, who indeed "shot his arrows in darkness," and passed to the grave undetected.* The first of October the Supporters of the Bill of Rights ordered 300*l.* to be carried by Mr. Oliver to Mr. Wilkes in the King's Bench prison. Patriotism was not an unprofitable calling. From first to last, John Wilkes is said to have got more than 30,000*l.* of public subscription money, besides very considerable sums levied in a more private manner.

* Mr. John Taylor's ingenious pamphlet, entitled "Junius identified with a distinguished Living Character," and first

of these celebrated letters appeared in the columns of the Public Advertiser at the beginning of the present year, 1769. The extraordinary force of the style, the apparent familiarity with all public affairs and public men, as well as with all court and cabinet secrets, the sharpness of the invective, the uncompromising boldness of the attack, harmonized with the temper of the times, and produced a fresh excitement. But the impression became much deeper when government laid its actions for libel, and when Sir William Draper, the classical captor of Manilla, entered the field against Junius as champion for his friend or patron, the Duke of Grafton. The letters were then sought after and perused by all classes with astonishing avidity, and they became the political text-book of no inconsiderable part of the nation. Many truths in them were palpable and undeniable, and the falsehoods and exaggerations were made to look like truth in the eyes of the multitude, who had no means of examining the secret passages in courts and cabinets, and who are generally disposed to take for true the story which is best told, and most exciting. From the sovereign and his mother—from the prime minister down to the meanest courtier and meanest clerk in office—from the head of the church and the head of the law down to the last-made chaplain or practising barrister, few escaped the scourge of this powerful and invisible flagellant. The king was impatient and resentful; the Duke of Grafton writhed under the infliction, and complained, not without reason, of the envenomed falsehoods aimed at his character and public conduct, which if far from faultless, was still farther from the black iniquity depicted by Junius. It is said that Grafton was thrown into a perfect agony by these productions, and that their effect on his mind at times utterly incapacitated him, for days together, for the ministerial duties of his office.*

In the month of July, to the astonishment of most published in 1816, has fully convinced us that Sir Philip Francis was the author.

* Sir N. W. Wraxall, Bart., Historical Memoirs of his own Time.

present, the Earl of Chatham stalked into the drawing-room at St. James's, and, after the levee, had twenty minutes' private conversation with the king. Of what passed we know nothing, except that his reception was most flattering, and the king all condescension and goodness.* We may guess, however, that the interview did not satisfy Chatham, or in any way tend to soften the violence of opposition. Some weeks after, Temple and the rest of the Grenvilles got up a grand meeting at Aylesbury, and voted a remonstrance and petition. "The ardent eagerness," says Temple, "which was expressed for the union of the three brothers (that is Chatham, George Grenville, and himself), and the applause with which my assurances that it did exist in the highest degree was received, did indeed give me inexpressible delight. In short, all things passed inexpressibly well; and I hear the holy flame has caught in Dorsetshire, where I suppose I shall find it ready to blaze by the time I get there, which will be by the end of next week."† In the month of November, Mr. Calcraft, a most busy go-between, was deputed by Chatham to confer with the Marquess of Granby and evidently with the intention of weakening the cabinet by inducing that nobleman to resign. Granby said that his retiring now would look like skulking to Junius, who had dealt him some of his heaviest blows, or might be considered as an admission on his part that he was what Junius declared him to be—unfit for the command of the army. Calcraft saw that Granby was looking up to Lord Chatham, but was not very cordial with Temple and George Grenville. Granby told him that he never knew why Chatham had resigned; that he would advise the king to send for Lord Chatham; and that he would certainly recommend a dissolution of parliament as the only measure likely to quiet people's minds, now that they were so inflamed. This was on the 6th of November. Calcraft waited again on

* Letter from Earl Temple to Chatham, in Chatham Cor.

—Letter from Horace Walpole to General Conway.

† Letter to the Countess of Chatham, in Chatham Cor.

Lord Granby on the 25th; and on the 26th his lordship went down to Hayes, where it appears that Chatham advised him "not to go to a place where it rained snares"—that is to say, not to attend a meeting of the council on the following Monday upon American affairs. During the same month of November, Calcraft, who was living at Shooter's Hill, busied himself in getting up meetings, petitions, and addresses from the men of Kent! All this seemed to denote a fierce parliamentary campaign; but ministerial troubles were growing on every side. Ireland, never well governed, and never tranquil, had now been in a very turbulent state for years, split into factions, and overrun by bands of Levellers and White Boys, Oak Boys, and Hearts of Steel, who were bound together by secret oaths, and a detestation of tithes. And a financial encroachment attempted by his majesty's ministers this year roused a terrible storm in the Irish parliament.

But even the silly pageantry of my lord-mayor's day in the city of London was a spectacle of woe to the cabinet; for Mr. Beckford, the friend of Chatham, the wealthiest commoner in England, ascended, for a second time, the civic throne, in spite of all the efforts made by ministers and their city friends to prevent it.

A.D. 1770.—Parliament did not assemble till the 9th of January. His majesty commenced his speech by deploring an unfortunate distemper which had broken out among—*horned cattle*: and he assured the Lords and Commons that he had used his best endeavours to stop the progress of the contagion! And this was solemnly uttered from the throne when the land was full of wicked wits and scoffers, when Junius was writing, and Wilkes making his *bons-mots*. It rained, it poured, it deluged jokes and repartees in newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines. The session was nick-named "the horned-cat session"; the king's love of farming was turned against him, and he was represented as looking after cows, sta dairies, and farms, when his empire was breaking pieces, and his people everywhere misgoverned and discontented. And now, too, the great Chatham was in place in the House of Lords, vigorous and more eloqu

than ever, like a giant refreshed by sleep or, like Samson bursting his bonds at the cry that the Philistines were upon him. Among Chatham's Philistine foes he now counted his recent colleague, friend, and nominee, the Duke of Grafton, who had consented to remain in office at his earnest prayer. The address was moved in the Upper House by the Duke of Ancaster, and seconded by Lord Dunmore, the Earls of Carlisle and March having refused the unthankful office. It was as general and unmeaning as the speech from the throne. Chatham presently rose, and after a little talk about his own age and infirmities, and his respect and duty to the crown, he spoke in thunder. He said that there never was a period which called more forcibly than the present for the serious attention and consideration of that House; and that at a crisis of such importance and danger, when discontent, distress, and injuries were universal, it was the bounden duty of their lordships to lay before the sovereign the true state and condition of his subjects. After indulging in a quiet sneer at the care of the council for horned cattle, he said he was extremely glad to hear what he owned he did not expect when he came into the House, that the king had reason to believe that his endeavours to secure the peace of his country would be successful. Circumstances and views had changed: Chatham no longer called the colonists madmen, but thought that the measures of government—measures which in good part had been framed by a cabinet in which he himself held a place—had *driven them* into excesses which he could not quite justify: he no longer asked what demon blew the coals; and, in a brief process of time, this demon of discord changed form and colour, and was converted in his tropes and impersonations into an angel of light and liberty. In his present speech he owned he had a natural partiality for America, and was inclined to make allowance for her excesses. He confessed, at the same time, that he was *entirely ignorant* of the present state of America; but then he said that he feared a noble duke was as ignorant as himself, and had been taking danger-

ous steps in the dark, without stopping to inquire his way ; and one false step would lead him to another, till he would be lost in an inextricable labyrinth. He objected to the word *unwarrantable*, as applied, in the proposed address, to the proceedings of the colonists. Unwarrantable, he said, must mean illegal ; and how could their lordships decide that proceedings which had not yet been stated to them in any shape were contrary to law ? He proposed substituting the word *dangerous*. He told them they must look for other remedies ; that the discontent of two millions of people could only be removed by removing the causes of it. After reminding the House that their privileges, however transcendant, however appropriated to them, stood, in fact, upon the broad bottom of the people, and after reading them a lesson or a warning from the fate of the grandees of Castile out of Robertson's History of Charles V., he proclaimed that the liberty of the subject had been invaded not only in our provinces, but here at home. Hence, he said, had arisen universal complaints and demands of redress. "I have," said he, "considered the matter with the most serious attention ; and, as I have not in my own breast the smallest doubt that the present universal discontent of the nation arises from the proceedings in the House of Commons upon the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, I think we ought in our address, to state that matter to the king." He concluded by submitting an amendment. He was followed by the lord chancellor, Camden, who, upon his patron's resignation of the privy seal, had declared that Lord Chatham should still be his polar star—that he reluctantly consented to retain the great seal, and "to hold on a while longer with this crippled administration." Since then Camden and Chatham had been in amicable communication, and Calcraft had been employed in coming and going between them. The chancellor now startled the uninitiated with a speech as strong as that just delivered by Chatham. This was strange language from one holding the great seal. On the other side Lord Mansfield, in opposing the amendment, said, that he would never deliver an opinion as to

the legality of the proceedings in the House of Commons in the Middlesex election. He had his opinions, but was determined to keep them secret, and wished to avoid speaking on the subject. He acknowledged that the nation was in a distracted state, but was happy to affirm that this was not owing to him. Chatham rejoined at great length; but his amendment was negatived and the original address was carried. Lord Pomfret then moved an adjournment for some days. This called up Lord Temple, who said, "that the House well knew for what purpose the ministry wanted an adjournment: it was to settle the disordered state of the administration, which was now shattered in a most miserable manner, and in all likelihood would soon fall to pieces: and particularly to dismiss the virtuous and independent lord who sat on the woolsack, and to supply his place with some obsequious lawyer who would do as he was commanded." Lord Shelburne said nearly the same thing, and added, "that after the dismissal of the present worthy chancellor the seals would go a-begging; but he hoped there would not be found in the kingdom a wretch so base and mean-spirited as to accept of them on the conditions on which they must be offered."

In the House of Commons the address was moved by Sir George Osborne. At first it had been resolved by the Opposition not to meddle with the address in that House; but Lord Chatham expressed very strongly to Lord Temple that this plan, if followed, would have every possible ill consequence. Temple was convinced of this, and hastened from Hayes to London, and carried the same conviction to his brother, George Grenville, who thereupon changed his tactics, and sent word to the Thatched House, where there was a meeting of opposition, "to try to muster spirits to come down to parliament, where words of amendment were to be moved."* Accordingly Mr. Dowdeswell moved for the insertion into the address of words intimating the neces-

* Letters from Chatham to Calcraft, and from Calcraft to Chatham.

sity of immediately inquiring into the causes of the unhappy discontents which prevailed in every part of his majesty's dominions. The debate which ensued lasted twelve hours, and was attended with great violence, and other circumstances more extraordinary. The Marquess of Granby powerfully expressed his regret for having in the preceding session voted with ministers on the question of the disqualification of Mr. Wilkes. "That vote," said he, "I shall always lament as the greatest misfortune of my life. I see that I was in error, and I am not ashamed to make this public declaration of it, and give my vote for the amendment." It was expected that General Conway, who had gone out of the House to avoid voting on the Wilkes question, would have followed the example of Granby; but Conway stood up to oppose the amendment, and spoke with great warmth in defence of ministers, and in approbation of the disqualifying vote. Lord North declared he would never consent to annul that vote; Sir Fletcher Norton said, that they could not alter that resolution, but by an act of the whole legislature; and Charles James Fox (the second son of Lord Holland), who was destined subsequently to enchant the House or the nation with his brilliant opposition to everything that was arbitrary, to everything that was illiberal in politics, lent his immature abilities to the ministry, in a short speech, being the first of his parliamentary displays of which we have any report, although it appears that he had spoken once before. Young Fox was already involved in great pecuniary difficulties, and was looking forward to a place, which he soon obtained. The amendment was rejected by a majority of 254 to 138.

After the course pursued by Lord Chancellor Camden, it was not to be expected that the seals would be left in his possession. Camden was dismissed, and Lord Shelburne's prediction was literally verified: the great seal really went a-begging. It was indeed, in the first instance, at the pressing invitation of the king, and reluctantly accepted by the Honourable Charles Yorke, second son of the former Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.

who had been attorney-general during the short administration of Lord Bute, and subsequently during the shorter one of the Marquess of Rockingham. But Mr. Yorke, who received the great seal on the 18th of January, committed suicide on the 20th, before his patent of peerage could be completed. The seal was then offered to Sir Eardley Wilmot, who refused; and then to Lord Mansfield, who would not accept. Nothing therefore remained but to put the great seal in commission, and to appoint an interim speaker to occupy the woolsack in the House of Lords. Lord Mansfield agreed to fill the latter temporary office: the commissioners, who were not appointed till some time after, were Sir Sidney Strafford Smythe, one of the barons of the Exchequer; the Honourable Henry Bathurst, one of the justices of the Common Pleas; and Sir Richard Aston, one of the justices of the King's Bench.

While business was suspended in the House of Lords by the want of a chancellor, it was also suspended in the Commons by the illness—real, not feigned—of the speaker, Sir John Cust. The removal of Lord Camden was immediately followed by the resignations of his friend Mr. Dunning, the solicitor-general, and of Mr. James Grenville, who held the office of one of the vice-treasurers for Ireland. The Marquess of Granby, who had been assured by his father, the Duke of Rutland, that he had his fullest approbation, and that his spirited conduct had endeared him more than ever, tendered his resignation as master-general of the ordnance and commander-in-chief of the forces as early as the 15th of January. On the night of that stormy day Lord Temple writes to Chatham: "I am this instant returned from Calcraft's. Granby is there. The king, it seems, and the Duke of Grafton are upon their knees to Lord Granby not to resign. He remained to the Duke of Grafton inflexible as to that, but has yielded for twenty-four hours. Calcraft does most earnestly wish, and so do I, that you may take the trouble of writing, either to Lord Granby himself or to Calcraft, your opinion and warm desire that his lordship may to-morrow morning go

to the queen's house, desire to see the king, and carry into execution what had been so much better done yesterday. The ministry live upon moments. Can you yourself come to town to-morrow, to see and fix the Duke of Newcastle? Heaven and earth are in motion." To this passionately written appeal, Chatham replied at a late hour the same night, in a tone still more passionate. "Not a moment must be allowed to king or ministers. My most respectful and warmly affectionate advice therefore is," said Chatham, "that Lord Granby should demand an audience at the queen's house to-morrow, and then and there absolutely and finally resign the ordnance and the command of the army." On the following day (January the 16th) Temple announced that his friend, the Earl of Coventry, had done his part, and quitted the post of lord of the bed-chamber; that the Duke of Beaufort had resigned that of master of the horse to the queen; that Lord Shelburne continued to give perfect satisfaction; that things had passed very amicably between Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond; and that they (the opposition) had had "a most glorious day." On the same day or night the ever-busy Calcraft* reported to Chatham that he had communicated his manly sentiments to Granby, who was exceedingly affected by them, and, though his lordship could not prevail on himself to press for an audience that day, he promised that he would be firm in the closet to-morrow, and that no persuasion should make him depart from the execution of his purpose and promise. Thus spirited on, Granby, on the morning of the 17th, waited upon his majesty, and, in spite of all entreaties, resigned everything except his regiment, the Blues. The ordnance was then offered to General Conway, who refused it, saying, he would take none of Lord Granby's spoils. Other resignations took place in the royal household

* Formerly Mr. Calcraft had been an equally active agent for Chatham's rival, Mr. Fox, now Lord Hollan. He was one of the many little men hanging on the great men, as described by General Conway. But he was a man of indisputable ability.

the Earl of Huntingdon, groom of the stole, and the Duke of Manchester, another of the lords of the bed-chamber, quitting the court abruptly. Sir Francis Brett and Sir George Yonge, junior lords of the Admiralty, also threw up their places, by letter to the Duke of York, after telling Sir Edward Hawke, the first lord, that they thought it for the *honour of Lord Chatham and their country's quiet*.*

On the 22nd of January the Marquess of Rockingham moved in the House of Lords, that the House should, on Thursday, the 24th, take into consideration the lamentable state of the nation. The Duke of Grafton rose and said, that he did not intend to oppose this inquiry, and that he was ready to go into the question whenever the House should think proper. The Earl of Chatham then rose and delivered one of the most remarkable of his speeches. He said that he should not speak methodically, and he kept his word. "The constitution," he exclaimed, "has been grossly violated; the constitution at this moment stands violated! Until that wound be healed, until the grievances be redressed, it is in vain to recommend union to parliament; in vain to promote concord among the people. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity; if not, **MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER!** If the king's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided on according to the forms and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner; and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birthright to a despotic minister, I hope, my lords, old as I am, *I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and the government.*" He repeated that some kind of parliamentary reform was absolutely necessary and inevitable, and stated that he had hoped his majesty's servants would not have

* Calcraft to Chatham. In this letter, dated the 20th of January, Calcraft says, "*Don't be surprised to find the Duke of Grafton's ground at court but tender.*"

suffered so many years of peace to elapse without paying some attention to that great object. He proceeded to offer to the consideration of the House his own thoughts and sentiments, which he said were not crude and undigested, but ripe and well considered, as the subject had long occupied his thoughts. This matured scheme of parliamentary reform was, not that the rotten boroughs should be disfranchised—not that the unrepresented great towns should be allowed members—though he admitted that in them great part of the strength and vigour of the constitution resided,—but that every county should be permitted to elect *three* members instead of *two*—the knights of the shires approaching the nearest to the constitutional representation of the country, *because they represent the soil*. Thus, in Chatham's vaunted scheme no allowance was to be made for the growing importance of the commercial and manufacturing interests; but the landed interest, the country gentlemen, who had not hitherto been the most liberal part of the legislature, were to crowd the House of Commons, to the danger and risk of all other interests whatsoever. Not many months after delivering this speech the great orator himself doubted the efficacy of this plan of reform, and admitted that the knights of the shires, or representatives of counties, "were not the most enlightened or spirited part of the House."* At the close of his long speech he proclaimed in sonorous language his coalition with the Marquess of Rockingham, whom, at no very distant date, he had overthrown as an incapable and not trustworthy statesman.

But in the interval between the 22nd and the 24th, Chatham announced that he was too ill to attend. Rockingham, whose health was frail, and whose sensibilities were acute, was agitated and distressed by the melancholy suicide of Charles Yorke, who had formerly been his colleague, and who had never ceased to be his friend. The marquess, therefore, moved the adjournment of the seat question, on the state of the nation

* Chatham to the Earl of Shelburne, Chat. Cor.

from Thursday, the 24th of January, till Friday, the 2nd of February, stating as his grounds for asking this delay, his own feelings and the absence of the Earl of Chatham.

On the 28th Lord North, already chancellor of the exchequer, became first lord of the treasury: for the Duke of Grafton, to the astonishment of the Opposition, resigned the premiership. It was said that the sharp scourge of Junius had driven him from his post; but it is evident that there were a hundred other strong concurrent motives to induce him to retreat. Calcraft was the first to assure Chatham that Grafton had certainly resigned, and that the present plan of the court appeared to be merely a trial with Lord North. North was to remain with all of the cabinet Grafton had left, and with power or limited instructions to fill up the vacancies; and Chatham and his friends were to remain, unconsulted and defied, on the hard and barren benches of opposition! The great seal was left in commission, with the commissioners already named. Granby's places of the ordnance and the command-in-chief were left vacant for the present; the post of groom of the stole, resigned by the Earl of Huntingdon, was given to the Earl of Bristol, who again was succeeded in his office of lord privy seal by the Earl of Halifax; the Earl of Coventry was succeeded as a lord of the bedchamber by the Earl of Pembroke, and the Duke of Manchester's bedchambership was left vacant; the Earl of Waldegrave (brother to the honest nobleman who had been governor to his majesty when a minor and Prince of Wales) succeeded the Duke of Beaufort as master of the horse to the queen; Sir Gilbert Elliot succeeded Lord Howe in the treasurership of the navy; Mr. CHARLES JAMES Fox became one of the junior lords of the Admiralty in the place of Sir Percy Brett, and Admiral Holburne another, in the place of Sir George Yonge; the other junior lords (including Viscount Palmerston, who had not resigned) continuing as before. Mr. Welbore Ellis became one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, in lieu of Mr. James Grenville; and Mr. Edward Thurlow, a

rising lawyer, recommended to notice not less by his daring dash-through spirit than by his abilities, was called up to be solicitor-general instead of Mr. Dunning. There were a few minor substitutions and interchanges of offices, but these were the principal; and they left Lord North's ministry a *continuation*, for the greater part, of that of the Duke of Grafton. The only really new name in it was that of Halifax.

The new Palinurus, who thus boldly took the helm, Frederick Lord North—in private life one of the most amiable and worthy of men,—was eldest son to the Earl of Guildford, about thirty-seven years old, married, the father of a family, and poor. In manners, person, and countenance he bore a most striking resemblance to the royal family, or all that part of it which descended from Frederick Prince of Wales, the father of George III. Like them, he had a fair complexion, bushy eyebrows, and grey eyes rather prominent in the head. His face, it was said, might be esteemed a caricature of the king's; and those who maliciously remembered the great intimacy which subsisted between Frederick, the king's father, and the Countess of Guildford, found no difficulty in accounting for the similarity. North, as chancellor of the exchequer, had borne the principal weight of the administration before Grafton's secession, and his promptness in complying with the king's wishes at that trying moment was not soon forgotten.

The Opposition soon began to make Lord North feel that he had not taken possession of a bed of roses. Mr. Dowdeswell moved another resolution—"That by the law of the land, and the law and usage of parliament, no person eligible of common right can be incapacitated by a resolution of the House, but by an express act of parliament only." In the course of this debate Colonel Barré compared the state to a vessel in a storm, which had parted with her main-mast (the Duke of Grafton), and was trying to scud under a jury-mast (Lord North). North acknowledged that the storm was great; but he told the Opposition that the ship was not yet compelled to hang out distressed lights for pilots—that her own

crew were quite capable of conducting her into port. Dowdeswell's motion was negatived by a majority of 226 to 181.

On the 2nd of February, pursuant to Lord Rockingham's adjournment, the debate on the state of the nation came on in the House of Lords, where Rockingham moved, "That the House of Commons, in the exercise of its judicative in matters of elections, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which is part thereof." Lord Sandwich, who remained in office as joint postmaster-general, reprobated the whole inquiry, and, in a particular manner, any attempt of that House to interfere in a question of privilege which regarded the Commons alone. He denied that the nation was in that extremity of discontent and alarm which had been described by Rockingham and his friends. Here the Earl of Chatham rose—for he was well enough not only to attend, but to make a very long and very violent speech. The House was excited, but the daring orator made few or no converts, and Rockingham's motion was negatived by more than two to one. The Earl of Marchmont then moved, on the ministerial side (the burthen of Chatham's speech having been Wilkes, Wilkes!), "That any resolution of the Lords directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the Commons, tending to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leading to general confusion." In the course of his speech the Scottish lord lost his temper and his discretion, and had the madness to talk of the necessity of calling in *foreign assistance* if the Opposition went one step farther. The Duke of Richmond called to order, and asked him what he meant by the words *foreign assistance*. Marchmont stammered and shuffled; and Lord Mansfield rose to relieve him, declaring, as a lawyer and statesman, that their lordships had no right to interfere in any determination of the Commons. He

was succeeded by the Earl of Egmont, who said that the late petitions were highly censurable, if they were not *treasonable*. Upon this Chatham rose again, and after sarcastically thanking Lord Egmont for his lenity in allowing the petitioners to wear their heads, and then solemnly affirming that the petitions were laudable and constitutional, he fell upon Mansfield, praising his abilities at the expense of his honour, honesty, and patriotism. He next complained of Lord Marchmont's motion, and of the late hour (midnight) at which it had been made. "If," he exclaimed, "the constitution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour, when honest men are asleep in their beds, and when only felons and assassins are seeking for prey." His proposed adjournment for only two days was, nevertheless, rejected, and at half-past one in the morning Marchmont's motion was carried. During this rough debate Sandwich accused the ex-chancellor Camden of double dealing, and of having permitted, while in office, the proceedings against Wilkes to take place without remonstrance and without any opinion given by him as to their illegality. The Opposition peers entered a strong protest against the decision which had been come to upon Lord Marchmont's motion. On the 5th of February there was another debate in the Commons, where the opposition urged that the expulsion of Wilkes had been determined by ministers in council, and where the majority voted the expulsion good, &c.

On the 2nd of March, while the City of London was busy in getting up memorials and remonstrances, Lord Craven, acting with the Opposition, moved an address to the throne, beseeching his majesty forthwith to take proper steps for such an increase of seamen in the royal navy as should effectually preserve the honour and security of his majesty's kingdoms and colonies. At previously arranged, this motion was to lead to severe censures on the dismissal of able officers for their vot in parliament, and on the whole management of the navy. The Earl of Chatham supported the motion, and condemned the conduct of the ministry in every particu

in regard to that important branch of the national service. He then took up his war-cry against favourites and the secret influence which had pervaded the councils of the present reign. This influence—dangerous, base, unconstitutional, and wicked—had, he said, begun from the first moment of his majesty's accession, had subsisted ever since, and had undermined and overturned every administration, however constituted or supported. He spoke of an invisible, irresponsible influence—of the pernicious counsel of a favourite, who had occasioned all the unhappiness of the nation, and whose agents had extended his destructive politics and principles to the government of the colonies. The late peace, Chatham said, was the favourite's measure, and a proof of his influence; others participated in the guilt, but he was the principal. Then, raising his voice, he exclaimed, "this country was sold at the late peace!" Continuing his harangue, he almost directly accused the king of insincerity and treachery to himself personally during the time he was minister. He said he had been duped when he least suspected treachery; that the king, after giving his approbation to plans and measures one week, would let them vanish into thin air the next; that, in accepting office, he had received promises and assurances, which were all broken by the same secret, invisible influence which had displaced all ministers as soon as they declined to act under it. Here the Duke of Grafton rose, and hinted, as Lord Chesterfield had done before, that Chatham's intellect had been affected. "I rise," said his grace, "to defend the king; though, if I understand the words which have been spoken, they are only the effects of a *distempered mind, brooding over its discontent*." But this defence of the king only elicited a stronger repetition of the accusation. We have now certainly got beyond the limits within which there could be any doubt as to the king's total estrangement from Bute; but Chatham's charges made all the impression they were intended to make: the popular credulity on this head had known no abatement, and there were plenty of persons to declare that they knew

who were the secret agents that went between the absent lord, the princess-dowager, and the king.

Four days after this debate in the Lords, in which, as usual, the Opposition had been outvoted, the Common Hall of the City took into consideration a memorial complaining that no answer had ever been returned to the City petition presented to his majesty. The lord mayor, Beckford, delivered a long and exciting harangue, and a prepared remonstrance to the throne was presented and adopted by acclamation and with three rounds of applause. It appears that, at first, the king refused to receive this harsh lecture, and that, at last, he consented with extreme reluctance. The paper, entitled 'An Address, Remonstrance, and Petition,' was carried up to St. James's on the 14th of March by the lord mayor, and about 220 common councilmen, liverymen, and city officers, and was there read to his majesty sitting on the throne. The royal ear has not often been vexed by such sharp and dissonant periods. The paper told him that secret and evil counsellors and a corrupt majority of the House of Commons had deprived the people of their dearest rights, had done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles I. or the dispensing power assumed by James II.—a deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of the present parliament. It told him that the House of Commons did not now represent the people, &c. In conclusion it prayed that the king would instantly dissolve parliament, and remove for ever all evil ministers and advisers. In reply the king told them it gave him great concern to find that they should have been so far misled as to offer him an address and remonstrance, the contents of which he could not but consider as disrespectful to himself, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution. I said that he had ever made the law of the land the rule for his conduct, esteeming it his chief glory to reï over a free people, and that he had a right to expect from the people a steady and affectionate support. I countenance was clouded, and some of his courti

showed their resentment in gestures and broken sentences as the City deputation withdrew from the royal presence. The court instantly determined to bring the petition and remonstrance before parliament.

On the 15th of March, the day after the visit of the lord mayor to St. James's, Sir Thomas Clavering moved that a copy of the City address to the king should be produced. Although the original intention had been given up, of charging Mr. Lovell, Beckford (the lord mayor), Townshend and Sawbridge (the two sheriffs), and Alderman Treeothick acted precisely as it had been calculated they would act if Lovell had been charged: they all rose in their places, avowed the active part they had taken in the [whole transaction, and said that they were ready to answer for it. The Marquess of Granby, George Grenville, Burke, Wedderburn, and others opposed the motion as unusual and inexpedient; but it was, nevertheless, carried by a majority of 271 to 108, and the petition, together with his majesty's answer to it, was laid upon the table. But the fright at court continued, and they were not only puzzled but undetermined what to do with the petition and remonstrance now they had got it before parliament. The only resolution taken was, to be more temperate, and to avoid any expulsion or commitment to the Tower, seeing that that was the very thing which the lord mayor and the sheriffs courted. The consternation was the greater as it was known that other petitions and remonstrances, much in the same tone, were preparing for Westminster and for the county of Middlesex. Chatham, it appears, had said he would go down to the Hall to support the Westminster remonstrance. When the morrow came (the 19th of March) all that was moved for in the Commons was a vote of disapprobation in regard to part of the City address, or, as it was worded by the mover, Sir Thomas Clavering, "That to deny the legality of the present parliament, and to assert that the proceedings thereof are not valid, is highly unwarrantable, and has a manifest tendency to disturb the peace of the kingdom, by withdrawing his majesty's subjects from their obedience to the laws of the

realm." Nor was this much carried without violent opposition. The debate was prolonged till three o'clock in the morning, when, upon a division, the opposition counted 127 to 284. The whole of the next day was spent in fighting about an address to the king in condemnation of the City remonstrance. This was finally agreed to by 246 against 94; a large majority, which was attributed to the squeamish moderation, or some less honourable motive, of the Rockingham party. The address thus voted was sent up to the Lords, for their concurrence, and was then presented to the king, who received it most graciously. On the other hand, the City and the people of Middlesex were highly offended by the conduct of the Opposition, and the smallness of the minority that voted against the address. They called this a half support given to the City remonstrance, and they passed certain resolutions expressive of their discontent. They laid the whole blame on the Rockingham party, and the Rev. Mr. Horne—better known by his later designation of Mr. Horne Tooke—who had already begun to rule the fierce democracy by caustic wit and stirring harangues at Mile-End and Brentford meetings, announced his intention of exposing the whole Rockingham faction. This would have been very fatal to the Opposition, and every effort was made by Chatham, through Calcraft, to prevent it. On the 28th, the electors of Westminster agreed upon a petition and remonstrance of their own to the king. But it appears that there was a poor attendance on this occasion. Alderman Sawbridge, the Rev. Mr. Horne, and Calcraft had a private meeting at the alderman's house, where they agreed that it would be cruel not to stand by the people after the struggle they had made against this arbitrary and weak administration; and that it would be madness to sow dissension among the Opposition at a moment when the court was making use of all its endeavours to win over the Rockingham party. The reverend orator agreed to drop his intention denouncing the Rockinghams at the Mile-End meeting and also to get up at that meeting another strong petition and remonstrance to the king from the freehold

of Middlesex. On the 30th, Horne redeemed his promises: he harangued the Mile-End meeting for two hours, gave a very clear account of what ministers had been doing, and got the remonstrance carried as spicy and hot as Chatham himself could have desired. On that very night Calcraft received the great orator's thanks for his able management.

On the 2nd of April, Mr. George Grenville's celebrated bill for regulating the trial of controverted elections was passed in the House of Commons, the court having given up their design of opposing it on the third reading.* The bill was undoubtedly an immense improvement upon the loose, unfair practice which had hitherto prevailed; it went a great way to rescue the trial of contested elections from being a mere open struggle of parties, and, by shortening such cases, saved the time of parliament for the despatch of business. Ever since the famous Aylesbury case in 1704, the House of Commons had been admitted, without dispute, sole judge of the qualifications of electors, and of all other matters regarding the election of their own members. Controverted elections were tried before a committee of the whole House, the members not being bound to impartiality by any oath, promise, or pledge. The present bill simply provided that the judicature, in all cases of controverted elections, should be transferred from the House to a *sworn* committee of fifteen members, whereof thirteen were to be chosen by the contesting claimants for the seat, out of a list of forty-five, chosen by *ballot* by the whole House, and two were to be named by the contesting parties themselves, one by each. The committee, whose decision was made final, were to have full power to send for and examine witnesses, papers, and records, and their oath bound them to a strict impartiality.

On the 5th of April the bill was carried up to the Lords by Mr. Grenville, attended by a hundred members: Chatham was present to give it his support and to eulogise the framer. He took the opportunity of stating

* Earl Temple to Chatham.

that, as he had begun life out of a court, he hoped he should end it out of a court; that he had no views of personal interest; that all he meant was to rouse his country to a just sense of the blessings of the constitution. He then desired that there might be a call of the House immediately after the Easter holidays, as he intended to bring in a bill to reverse the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex election. But a more important debate, or one attended with more immediate consequences, which took place before the Easter recess, was upon a ministerial bill for repealing all the American taxes and duties, except the duty upon tea. A petition had been presented by the English merchants trading with America, representing that, in consequence of the duties and taxes, the discontents of the Americans, and their combinations to prevent the importation of goods from England, their trade had gone to ruin, and that, in the year 1769, their exports had fallen short of what they had been to the value of 740,000*l*. It was also shown that, since the year 1767, the revenue actually received by government from duties paid in America had decreased from 110,000*l*. to 30,000*l*. On the 5th of March, Lord North himself moved for leave to bring in the repealing bill. Mr. Grenville, the parent of the unlucky Stamp Act, argued, as he had done before, that he at least had acted systematically; that, in imposing the stamp duties, he had reason to think that they would be paid; that the succeeding ministry in repealing that act had re-affirmed the right of parliament to tax the colonies; that Mr. Charles Townshend, under the next ministry, had laid his duties upon unwise and anti-commercial principles, and that these duties had turned out far more odious to the colonies than his Stamp Act; that now a partial repeal would not do; that ministers must give up the whole, the duty upon tea as well the rest, or stand by the whole. He declined giving any vote. Governor Pownall proposed as an amendment that the repeal should be extended to all articles, as only way of quieting the colonies. General Conw Colonel Barré, and Sir William Meredith, supported

amendment. Lord Barrington and some others opposed alike the original motion and the amendment, declaring their conviction that even a total repeal would fail in satisfying the Americans, and that they would never again be obedient to English laws until reduced by English arms. In the end, Pownall's amendment was rejected by 204 against 142, and leave was given to bring in North's bill. A subsequent motion to repeal the duty on tea was also lost. It was urged by, and for, Lord North, that the duty on tea was preserved merely for the purpose of saving the national honour, and maintaining the authority of Parliament (*the very question at issue!*); and that this tea duty was so insignificant that it could not be felt financially, and would not be noticed by the colonists unless they were pre-determined, at all events, to seek a quarrel with the mother-country. It was even shown afterwards that the Americans would drink their tea at a cheaper rate than ever; for, while the duty was only threepence in the pound, one shilling per pound was to be taken off all teas to be exported to the colonies.*

To increase the embarrassments of the premier, whom Chatham now styled *Lord Deputy North*, very alarming news arrived from America; and John Wilkes was once more at large, haranguing everywhere on his sufferings, and declaring to the freeholders of Middlesex that he was ready to die in the cause of liberty. The time of his imprisonment had expired, his fines had been paid out of the public subscription money, and men of character and substance had given security for his future good behaviour. Lord Temple paid every possible attention to the enlarged patriot, and Chatham, after arranging his plan of attack with Temple, Rockingham, Shelburne, and others, stood up in the House of Lords on the 1st of May, when the holidays were over, and presented a bill for reversing the adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby John Wilkes, Esq., had been adjudged inca-

* Cavendish's Debates.—Chatham Correspondence.—Ann. Regist.

pable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middlesex had been deprived of one of their legal representatives. The bill itself was couched in the strongest language, and concluded with declaring all the resolutions of the Commons in Wilkes's case to be arbitrary and illegal. Lord Temple, Lord Littleton, and the Duke of Richmond strongly supported the motion for the second reading, which was as violently opposed by Lord Denbigh, who called the mover and his supporters a faction. Chatham retorted and treated Denbigh with sovereign contempt, saying that his lordship was very angry, but angry in such a sort that none could be angry with *him*. He then proceeded to treat of the Middlesex election and of the new state-arithmetic by which Colonel Luttrell's 296 had been held a greater number than Wilkes's 1143. He said this was flying in the face of all law and freedom—a robbing the freeholders of their liberty, and making a mere farce of the birthrights of Englishmen. Lord Mansfield contended that the House had no right to interfere with the decisions of the Commons, and that those decisions were strictly legal. He said that in consequence of previous votes and sentences Wilkes was nobody in the eye of the law, and that, though the freeholders gave their votes, it was for the House of Commons to judge as to the point of qualification. Lord Camden declared that Lord Mansfield was delivering most unconstitutional doctrines; and that Wilkes had been expelled in an arbitrary manner in consequence of a secret influence which had said the word, "Mr. Wilkes shall not sit." He persisted that the judgment of the Commons on the Middlesex election was a worse wound on the constitution than any of those inflicted during the twelve years when Charles I. was governing without parliaments; and he expressed his hope that, if this reversing bill should be rejected, the good sense and spirit of the people would make them persevere, session after session till they compelled parliament to pass it. The bill was rejected by 89 against 43. Thirty-three peers signed protest; and Lord Chatham demanded that the Ho

should be summoned for the 4th, as he had a motion to make of great importance relative to the king. When that early day arrived he moved a resolution sharply censuring, as "of a most dangerous tendency," the advice which had induced his majesty to give the answer he had given to the late address, remonstrance, and petition of the lord mayor, &c. The motion, as had been fully foreseen, was negatived.

In the meanwhile the opposition in the House of Commons had, on the 1st of May, called for the correspondence with the American colonies; and on the 9th Mr. Burke moved eight resolutions relating to those troubles, and censuring the plan, or rather the no-plan, ministers were pursuing. The previous question was carried against the first of these resolutions; it became necessary to alter the second; then the second, third, and fourth were negatived; and the previous question was carried against all the rest.* Subsequently similar resolutions were moved in the House of Lords, so altered as to prevent the previous question, and drive the ministry either to an affirmative or a negative.† They were moved by the Duke of Richmond, and negatived by a majority of 60 or 70.

On the 14th of May, Chatham rose again. Ministers knew what was coming, and determined to keep it, as much as possible, from the ear of the public. On the motion of Lord Denbigh written orders were issued to the door-keepers of the House to admit, on no account whatever, any person but peers' sons and members of the House of Commons. This stopping of reporting, this jealousy, was not new but very old; yet the carrying of it to its utmost limits in both Houses during nearly the whole of this unpopular parliament did not augur well of the spirit and intentions with which the thing was done. The pretext was, that it was dangerous to increase the popular excitement by the disclosure of their measures and debates, and the stirring harangues of the Opposition; but the people were more excited by this forced and ar-

* Dowdeswell to Chatham, *Chat. Corres.*

† Id.

bitrary silence, and this attempt at mystery and concealment. Chatham moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most dutifully and earnestly beseeching his majesty that in the dangerous state wherein his kingdoms are involved, from the high dissatisfactions generally prevailing at home, and from the most alarming disorders which have unhappily manifested themselves in his American dominions, his majesty will, in his great wisdom and necessary care to prevent more fatal mischiefs, be graciously pleased to take the recent and genuine sense of his people, by dissolving this present parliament, and calling, with all convenient despatch, a new parliament." In his speech he again declared that the people had no confidence in the present House of Commons; and he again hinted at his plan for reforming parliament by adding to the representation of the counties. Little else is known of the debate, except that the motion was negatived by a majority of 72 to 28. On the same day the Common Council of London carried a vote of thanks to the orator for the zeal he had shown in support of their most valuable and sacred privileges, the right of election and the right of petition; as also for his wishes and declaration that he would hereafter use his best endeavours to restore parliaments to their purity, by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation. On the 19th the king put an end to the session by prorogation.

On the 23rd, my lord mayor, Beckford, and some aldermen in their formalities, and with a very numerous train, went up once more to St. James's with another petition, complaining of his majesty's former answer from the throne. His majesty replied that he should have failed in his duty if he had not expressed his dissatisfaction at their last address; that his sentiments on subject continued the same. Upon this Beckford adopted the unprecedented course of asking leave to add a few words from himself; and, his request having been sent to in the confusion of the moment, the bold citizen proceeded to harangue and lecture his majesty. "When I spoke in the king's presence," said Beckford, report

the business to Chatham, "was uttered in the language of truth, and with that humility and submission which becomes a subject speaking to his lawful king: at least, I endeavoured to behave properly and decently; but I am inclined to believe I was mistaken, for the language of the court is, that my deportment was impudent, insolent, and unprecedented. God forgive them all!"* We believe, however, that the lord mayor was too warm to be very polite, and that his tone was much louder than the etiquette of the place allowed. His majesty showed his anger by issuing, through the medium of the lord chamberlain, a positive order that lord mayors should in future confine themselves to delivering their papers, and not presume to deliver speeches. Chatham, on the other side, hastened to applaud Beckford for asserting the rights of the City with weight and spirit. Wilkes, who had contrived to get himself made an alderman even while he was a prisoner in the Bench, and who was now wearing the civic gown, notwithstanding the charges of sedition, impiety, and blasphemy, did what he could to keep up the storm in the City.

On the 1st of June, three days after presenting the compliments on the birth of a princess, Beckford, with a numerous deputation of the corporation, went down to Hayes and presented the vote of thanks to his friend Chatham. This was the great lord mayor's last public performance. On the 15th Calcraft announced that he was in a very alarming state; and on the 21st Beckford died. His loss was a serious blow to the cause of opposition; for, though the election for a new mayor fell upon Alderman Trecothick, a steady Whig and an excellent debater, there was no one to furnish the weight of Beckford's wealth and munificence, or to supply his ardour and fearlessness. The City voted that the deceased magistrate should be honoured with a statue in Guildhall, and that the speech he had delivered to the king should be engraved on the pedestal. Chatham was deeply affected by his death, and continued his affection

* Chatham Cor.

for his son and heir, then a boy full of promise and of fire.

Meanwhile, across the Atlantic, committees had been appointed by the people in nearly all the principal seaports of the colonies to examine cargoes arriving from Great Britain, and to report to their constituents how far the act of association was carried into effect, and in what instances it was infringed. At Boston, meetings of the associators were regularly held at Faneuil Hall; and there strong votes of censure were passed upon such as dared introduce or sell any of the prohibited goods. Still further to increase the odium and the danger of such departures from the popular will, the names of offenders were published in the newspapers, with comments representing them as selfish slaves and traitors. It appears, however, that there was gross partiality exercised in this particular; and that, while many shopkeepers were ruined in their trade and beaten in their persons, a chosen few were permitted to make a fine market by selling the prohibited articles, which could be obtained only from them. This fact is admitted even by writers who are enthusiastic in the cause and disposed to paint all American measures as pure and noble, and all American citizens as spotless patriots. Incensed at the distinction, Mr. Theophilus Lillie, a tradesman of Boston, resolved to sell what was sold by others. The mob, to point him out as one whose shop was to be shunned, placed a rude figure, a kind of Guy Faux, opposite to his door. A Mr. Richardson, Lillie's friend or servant, attempted to remove the nuisance, but was driven into the house by a number of boys, who continued to pelt him with stones through the window. Richardson, in his wrath, took up a loaded gun and fired upon his assailants. The shot killed one Christopher Snider, a little boy, who was forthwith recorded in the newspaper as the first martyr to the glorious cause of liberty. This was indeed the first life that was sacrificed; but the blow was dealt by an American and not by an English hand, and the condition of the victim and the circumstances attending his death seemed to throw an air of ridicule on

Snider's canonization. Nevertheless, the boy was buried with great pomp, and the procession which followed him to the grave was said to be a quarter of a mile long. Other boys became candidates for a place in the new hagiology; but they were encouraged and paid *by men*, the New Englanders having resolved to put striplings and negroes in the vanguard of their holy war. The death of Christopher Snider took place in February. In March the new lieutenant-governor attempted to set on foot an association in opposition to the non-importationists; but the merchants to whom he applied declared that, until parliament should make provision for the punishment of the confederates, all would be ineffectual, and the associators would be exposed to popular rage. The merchants, generally, wished to see the trade free from restraint; but having, in the height of their zeal, called in the populace, as their servants, to intimidate those who refused to join in the combination, they were now forced to submit to them as their masters.* The populace, of course, had few immediate sacrifices to make on their part: they preferred grog to tea, and were not much given to decorating their abodes with painters' colours; besides, they were *paid* to cry down such luxuries and abominations. Their boldness seems to have increased after the catastrophe of Snider.

In the meantime the inhabitants of Boston and the soldiers quartered there were quarrelling incessantly. No man in a red coat could go through the streets without being insulted, and no discipline could prevent the soldiers from retorting. People, above the mob, held that, as the troops had not been called in by the civil magistrates of the place, their presence was illegal, and that every means that might be employed to hasten their departure or make their stay uncomfortable was both lawful and laudable. In this state of things it is not possible to see how desperate contention should be avoided.

The Boston newspapers gave insertion to a fictitious

* Gordon, Hist. Amer. Rev.

narrative of a defeat which the people of New York had given to a body of soldiers, and to a series of fictions representing the king's troops as a set of poltroons who could never stand before the sons of liberty. On the 2nd of March, while these galling reflections were fresh in the minds of the soldiers, a private of the 29th regiment got into a quarrel while passing by Mr. John Gray's rope-walk, and was beaten by several men. Resenting this unfair play, a dozen of his comrades returned with him to the spot, and then the soldiers beat the ropemakers and pursued them through the streets. The townspeople took fire, armed themselves with clubs, and were with difficulty stopped from renewing the action. Meetings were held by the mob, who determined upon fighting it out with the soldiers; but, as the next day was pay-day, and the day after that the Lord's day, they put off the combat to Monday, the 5th of March. Between seven and eight o'clock on the evening of that day, an unusual crowd with sticks and clubs met at the south end of the town; and about two hundred men armed in the same manner collected at the north end of the town, shouting, "Let us go to the red coats and drive them out of Boston, where they have no business to be." Presently fresh parties with sticks and clubs came running in, in all directions, and an attack was made in Dock-square upon some soldiers. An officer ran up and ordered the men to barracks. It was difficult to get the soldiers thither, and still more difficult to keep them in, for the mob followed them to the gate and dared them to come out, using the most provoking language. At the same time fellows ran through the streets shouting "Town-born, turn out!" others cried "Fire! fire!" and soon, as had been preconcerted, the bells were rung as in times of dangerous conflagrations. About nine o'clock the mob began to tear up the stalls of the market place in Dock-square swearing that they would go and attack the main guard. Some peaceable citizens interfered, and were persuaded some of the mob to go home and to bed; but at that moment a new demon of discord appeared in the person of a tall, large man in a red cloak and white wig.

harangued the rioters for three or four minutes, and his discourse was followed by loud huzzas, and shouts of "To the main guard! To the main guard! We will do for the soldiers!" They then separated into three divisions, and took different roads. As one of the divisions were passing the Custom House a boy came up, and, pointing to the sentry upon duty there, said, in coarser language than we can repeat, that that was the fellow who had knocked him down. Instantly some twenty sturdy youths cried out, "Let us knock him down! Kill him! kill him! kill him!" The sentry loaded his gun: they then began to pelt him with snowballs, pieces of ice, and anything that came to hand, hallooing "Fire, and be d——d!" Seeing that the man had no inclination to fire, they closed upon him and obliged him to retreat up some steps to the door of the Custom House: there he knocked and begged for admittance, but those within were afraid of opening the door; and then the sentry shouted out for assistance to the main guard, which was within hearing. Captain Preston, the officer of the day, sent off a corporal and six privates to rescue the sentry and protect the king's chest in the Custom House. The men marched off with their pieces unloaded, and the captain followed at a short distance. As they approached the Custom House they found the mob increasing, and they were pelted worse than the sentry had been with lumps of ice, pieces of wood, and other materials, the chief combatants being a certain mulatto named Crispus Attacks, and a party of sailors, or of strapping fellows disguised like sailors, who kept crying out, "Let us strike at the root! Let us fall upon the nest—the main guard!—the main guard!" At the same time the soldiers were assailed with oaths and execrations; called rascals, lobster scoundrels, bloody-backs, cowards, for bringing arms against unarmed men; and were told that they knew that they dared not fire without the order of a civil magistrate. Meanwhile, however, the soldiers had loaded and fixed their bayonets on their guns. But the mob continued to increase, and to press in upon them until the boldest or foremost were close upon the points

of the bayonets. The conduct of the soldiers did honour to their discipline; they maintained their presence of mind; they stirred not a step from the place where they were posted, and merely used their weapons to keep off the mob. But presently Crispus Attucks, the mulatto, and the fellows dressed as sailors gave three cheers, hemmed in the soldiers, struck at their bayonets and and muskets with clubs, and cried out to the rest, "Come on; don't be afraid of them; they dare not fire; knock them over; kill them." Attucks aimed a blow at Captain Preston, who was behaving in a most humane and officer-like manner, begging the rioters to desist, and keeping his men steady and quiet: the mulatto not only hit the captain on the arm, but also struck down one of the men's muskets and seized the bayonet. At that moment there was a confused cry, proceeding in part from some persons who were behind Captain Preston. "Why don't you fire? Why don't you fire?" Montgomery, the private, whose bayonet had been grasped by Attucks, and who had been thrown down in the struggle, recovered his legs and the command of his piece, and then fired into the mulatto, who fell dead or mortally wounded. After six or eight seconds another soldier fired, and then, at short intervals, to allow time for reloading, other five men fired, one by one. The rioters ran off; but three persons were killed, five very dangerously wounded, and a few more slightly wounded. The mob, however, soon collected again in an adjoining street with dreadful yells; the alarm-bells were rung more violently than before; and the cries were redoubled of "Town-born, turn out! turn out with your guns!" The drums beat to arms—a call gladly obeyed by the infuriated soldiery; and it seemed as if a nocturnal combat of the fiercest kind was about to take place. But Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, repaired to the spot, and asked Captain Preston how he had dared to fire at the people without the orders of a civil magistrate; and certain persons who had been gliding among the mob, and who, having obtained what they wanted, did not wish the riot to go far-

ther, used their influence with the people, and induced them to retire. The rest of that cold, frosty, clear moonlight night was silent and tranquil ; but at an early hour of the next morning the sons of liberty began to collect again in vast bodies : the lieutenant-governor summoned a council, and the magistrates and chief citizens met in full assembly and chose a committee. This committee soon waited upon the governor and council to declare that nothing could rationally be expected to restore the peace of the town, and prevent blood and carnage, but the immediate removal of the troops from Boston. Colonel Dalrymple proposed a half measure, saying that he would consent to remove the 29th regiment, whose men had been engaged in the riot, out of the town to Castle William. He was told by the citizens that, if he could take upon himself to remove the 29th, he could remove the 14th also ; and that, if he did not send every soldier out of Boston, the consequences would be terrible, and might be fatal to himself. In the afternoon another deputation, who said they spoke in the name of three thousand of their fellow-citizens, told the lieutenant-governor that nothing but a total and immediate removal of the troops would tranquillize the town. Mr. Royal Tyler assured the governor that he must not think the demands were urged merely by a set of vagabonds and rioters ; that people of the best character, men of estate, men of religion, had made up their hearts and minds, and had formed their plan for removing the troops out of town by force if they would not go voluntarily. " The people," said he, " will come in to us from all the neighbouring towns ; we shall have 10,000 men at our backs : and your troops will probably be destroyed by the people, be it called rebellion or what it may." The governor said, at first, that nothing should ever induce him to order the troops out of the town. He then wavered, and seemed willing to have the troops removed if Colonel Dalrymple and the members of the council would take the responsibility upon themselves. But Dalrymple said he would and could do nothing unless the governor himself gave orders. At last the governor, the colonel, and

the council agreed to divide the responsibility; and on the Monday following the troops were all removed to Castle William. Thus a scheme which had been rashly begun seemed to be given up—and given up to threats and intimidation! After such proceedings nothing was to be hoped for from the New Englanders but scorn, contempt, and a bold advance of claims and pretensions.

When news arrived of the repeal recommended by Lord North, and passed by the British parliament, the Bostonians were far from being thankful for the act, proclaiming that the retention of the duty upon tea did away with all its merits, and proved the unalterable resolution of asserting the disputed right. After the disaffection of New York, however, they could not hope to keep up the whole of the non-importation agreement; and in the month of October it was resolved in a meeting of the Boston merchants to follow the example of the New Yorkers, and import everything but tea. The Philadelphians joined in this resolve, intimating that those who could not live without tea must smuggle it. Even those who cannot condemn the aspirations of the American patriots, may reasonably complain of their want of frankness and sincerity; for, while they were aiming at much higher objects, they kept constantly declaring that all they now wanted, or should hereafter want, was the repeal of the tea duty. The warmest of the zealots were in New England and in Virginia. In the great southern provinces they were headed by Patrick Henry, the wonderful self-taught orator, fondly called the Chatham or the Demosthenes of America, and by Thomas Jefferson, then a young lawyer, who was about equally dissatisfied with the aristocratic constitution of the colony and with the dependence on England.

During a good part of the summer and autumn of this present year (1770) the attention of government at the time was absorbed by a very different subject. This had been the affair of the Falkland Islands, which at one time seemed to threaten a new war with Spain and

France. This group of islands, situated in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, off the extremity of the South American Continent and the eastern entrance to the Magelhaen Straits, consists of two larger islands called East and West Falkland, and a number of isles and islets, which are said to amount in all to ninety. By right of priority of discovery they certainly belonged to England. In 1764 the French, under Bougainville, formed a settlement at Berkeley Sound, an excellent harbour on West Falkland; and in the following year (1765), the English made a counter-settlement at Port Egmont, on East Falkland. The Spaniards, who had utterly neglected the islands and their resources, now took the alarm, exaggerated their importance, and demanded, both from France and England, the immediate evacuation of them, as territories belonging to their crown by right of Papal bulls and degrees of latitude and longitude. The French yielded the point at once, having no right to plead, and gave up Berkeley Sound and West Falkland; but the English, who had more use for their settlement, and who could stand upon the right of discovery, refused to abandon Port Egmont and East Falkland. Encouraged by the discontents prevailing in the British colonies, and by assertions too frequently made by our opposition at home, that the British government was in no condition to go to war, and that Lord North and his colleagues might be insulted with impunity, Don Francisco Bucarelli, governor of Buenos Ayres, fitted out an armament of 1600 men with artillery and stores; and in the month of June, 1769, this imposing force appeared off Port Egmont. Some of the ships got into the port, pretending that they only wanted to take in fresh water: they found that the whole force of the settlement consisted of a handful of soldiers with four small pieces of artillery, and two armed sloops under the command of Captain Maltby; and with this comfortable assurance the Spanish general came in and landed his troops. A few shots were fired merely for the honour of arms, and then the English surrendered the island by capitulation. It does not appear that Lord North showed

any want of spirit on this occasion. He consented, indeed, to negotiate, but his tone was high and positive, and it was no fault of his if the negotiations were long and lingering, inasmuch as negotiations with Spain had never been otherwise. But the subject recommended itself in many ways to the attention of the Opposition, who represented the nation as dishonoured, the ministry as crouching to Spain to avoid a war which they could not manage, and which was, nevertheless, inevitable. In the month of October of the present year, when the negotiations were nearly a year old, Calcraft announced to the Earl of Chatham that war, inevitable war, was the cry in London, and that Lord Weymouth, as secretary of state, was degrading his office and his country by running to the door of the Spanish ambassador to learn whether his despatches were not more favourable. But by this time Lord North had certainly made preparations for the worst: he had put ships in commission, and he had instructed Mr. Harris (afterwards Earl of Malmesbury), who, though only in his twenty-fourth year, was acting as resident minister at Madrid, to demand that the Spanish government should forthwith disavow the conduct of the governor of Buenos Ayres, and restore Port Egmont. During the recess, on the 19th of October, the Marquess of Granby, after a short illness, died at Scarborough in the forty-ninth year of his age. Chatham, who had made such exertions to keep him steady in opposition, and who really admired and loved the Marquess, apart from political considerations, was deeply affected; and on the 13th of November he had to mourn the death of Mr. George Grenville, whose loss was grievously felt in the House of Commons by a large section of the opposition.

On the 13th of November, the day on which Grenville died, the king opened parliament in person. The prominent part of the speech from the throne related to the Falkland Islands; his majesty informing his Lords and Commons, that by an act of the governor of *Buenos Ayres*, in seizing by force one of his possessions, the honour of the crown and security of the people's rights

had been affected; and then calling upon parliament for their advice and assistance. The address in the lords was carried without much debate; for Chatham, Lord Temple, and others, were absent on account of the death of their relative. On Tuesday, November the 20th, the House of Lords was summoned for Thursday, the 22nd, on notice given by the Duke of Richmond that a motion would be made. On the appointed day, Chatham being in his place, Richmond moved for an address praying the king that all papers received by the ministry between the 12th of September, 1769, and the 12th of September, 1770, touching hostilities commenced, or designed to be commenced, by the crown of Spain, or any of its officers, should be laid before parliament. Two of the secretaries of state, Lords Weymouth and Hillsborough, contended that the production of the papers called for by his grace would embarrass a negotiation which was now in good train. Chatham supported the Duke of Richmond's motion, and delivered one of the most admired of all his orations. He predicted that, if ministers patched up an accommodation for the present, they would still have a Spanish war in six months; he declared that their incapacity and gross mismanagement made war as much to be apprehended as a dishonourable peace. "I charge them," he exclaimed, "with the greatest crimes that men in their station can be guilty of: I charge them with having destroyed all content and unanimity at home by a series of oppressive, unconstitutional measures; and with having delivered up the nation defenceless to a foreign enemy." And in concluding his long speech he said, "Let me warn them of their danger. If they are forced into a war, they stand it at the hazard of their heads; if, by an ignominious compromise, they should stain the honour of the crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to the consequences, and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets in safety!" The Duke of Manchester, the Marquess of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, and Lord Lyttleton spoke on the same side; but the Duke of Richmond's motion was rejected by a majority of 65 to 21. On the

same day a similar motion was made in the Commons, and negatived by a majority of 225 to 101. Chatham moved an address to his majesty, praying that the house might be acquainted at what time the first demand was made for reparation from Spain; and this was negatived by 54 against 20. The great orator was vexed by Lord Temple having declined attending, and by Lord Camden keeping away from the debate. "Matters," said he, "are hastening to some crisis in the interior of the thing called opposition. . . . The times are pollution, in the very quintessence; and the little manœuvres in opposition behind the scenes are deplorable." He even threatened he would separate from "so unorthodox a congregation." Before this time the government, urged on, as we believe, by the king, had involved itself in new troubles, and exposed itself to sharper attacks than ever by prosecuting the printers and publishers of Junius's Letters.

Meanwhile the Opposition continued to press ministers about the lingering negotiations with Spain and the bad state of their preparations for hostilities.

At this moment Lord Weymouth, who had for some time been complaining of the want of decision in his colleagues on matters of foreign policy, resigned the seals of secretary of state, which, on the 19th of December, were given to Lord Sandwich, who was succeeded as one of the postmasters-general by the honourable H. F. Thynne, Lord Weymouth's brother. Chatham thought this a very unexpected and very significant resignation, which would probably lead to greater changes; but at the same time he was grieved at learning that Wedderburn and other conspicuous members of the opposition were treating with Lord North.

On the 21st of December a messenger was despatched to Spain to recall our minister, Mr. Harris, and to intimate to the English merchants and commanders of ships that it might be expedient for them to leave the Spanish ports immediately. This conduct, but certainly still more the great political changes which took place in France during the month of December, where the

Duke de Choiseul, through the influence of Madame du Barry, the king's last mistress, was disgraced and exiled and succeeded by a more pacific prime minister, the Duke d'Aiguillon, had the effect of bringing the long negotiations to a close. Louis XV. wrote to Charles III. with his own hand—"My minister would have war, but I will not." The apprehensions of war were, therefore, at an end for the present; but we shall presently see that the convention with Spain, though that power restored Port Egmont, was far from giving universal satisfaction.

During the Christmas recess ministers employed themselves in gaining over willing converts and in making arrangements to complete and strengthen their administration. Wedderburn, who had been petted by Chatham and the City, and who had been prized for his ability and boldness as a debater, abandoned his old friends to become solicitor-general; Thurlow verified a prediction which had been made, by becoming attorney-general in the place of Mr. de Grey, who was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and at last a lord chancellor was found in the person of the Honourable Henry Bathurst, who took the title of Baron Apsley. Lord Sandwich, who had declared all along that he should prefer the Admiralty, was put at the head of that board instead of Sir Edward Hawke; Lord Halifax succeeded Sandwich as secretary of state, giving up the privy seal, which he held, to the Earl of Suffolk. "I make no remarks upon all this," said Camden; "I am not surprised, but grieved." Chatham was grieved too, and thought Wedderburn's conduct most deplorable, and Lord Suffolk's pitiable; but there was no help for it.*

A.D. 1771.—Immediately after the holidays Lord Rochford in the Upper House, and Lord North in the Commons, announced the happy termination of the dispute with Spain, and the intention of government to lay before parliament the convention which had just been signed.

Chatham, meanwhile, called a meeting of the opposi-

* Chatham Correspondence.

tion leaders to consider and regulate the best modes of attacking the convention ; and the powerful and mysterious author of Junius endeavoured to drive or to shame both Houses into a suspension of the orders they had recently enforced in a violent passionate manner for excluding strangers and debating with closed doors. This ingenious attack, however, failed completely ; neither Lords nor Commons were to be shamed ; and when Tuesday arrived—the great field-day in the Lords—all strangers were rigidly excluded. Chatham, after criticising the convention, which did not admit the sovereignty of his Britannic majesty over Falkland Island, but, in granting repossession, left the right or claim of his Spanish majesty as it stood before the seizure and restitution, moved that the following two questions should be referred to the judges :—1. Whether, in law, the imperial crown of the realm can hold any territories or possessions otherwise than in sovereignty ? 2. Whether the declaration or instrument for the restitution of Port Egmont, to be made by the Catholic king to his majesty under a reservation of a disputed right of sovereignty expressed in the very declaration or instrument stipulating such restitution, can be accepted or carried into execution without derogating from the maxim of law touching the inherent and essential dignity of the crown of Great Britain ? All that we know of the debate which followed is, that 22 peers divided with Chatham, and 69 against him. On the 14th of February the Duke of Newcastle moved for an address to the king in approbation of the convention, and of the wise and moderate measures which had been employed to procure it. Another vehement and unreported debate followed, and the minority entered a protest in eleven articles. The opposition was equally warm and equally ineffectual in the House of Commons ; and, as far as parliament was concerned, the matter was set at rest. But out of doors it long continued to be a vexed question ; one party maintaining that the honour of the country had been meanly sacrificed, and that, in the convention, there was a secret article implying that, after all, we were to

give up Port Egmont. Upon this side it was attempted to be proved by the powerful, caustic Junius, and by other writers, that the possession of Port Egmont was of the utmost importance to us, both in a commercial and in a military sense, and that the Falkland group was highly favoured by the hand of Nature, and would be invaluable in the hands of any great power. To combat these opinions Dr. Johnson again took up the pen political, and in a pamphlet entitled 'Thoughts concerning the Falkland Islands,' written with more vigour of style than geographical knowledge, he laboured to demonstrate that the whole group was worth little or nothing, and that it would have been monstrously absurd to go to war about them. Johnson was at least as far from the truth as Junius. Those islands contain numerous and excellent harbours; and Port Egmont in East Falkland, and Berkeley Sound in West Falkland, are two safe and spacious bays, with depth of water sufficient for the largest men-of-war, and excellent anchoring ground. The climate, though changeable, is healthy, bearing a pretty close resemblance to that of England. Antiscorbutic plants, of such inestimable value to mariners, grow there in abundance. All vegetation is rapid; the soil in the plains is very good. The islands swarm with rabbits, which are unusually large, and have a fine fur; the penguins which visit the shores are valuable on account of their eggs; seals are very numerous; and the sea abounds with good fish. Other comestible resources exist in wild ducks and other game, in herds of wild horned cattle, and wild hogs; and there is a breed of horses, small in size, but very hardy.*

But, even if the Falkland Islands had been as barren and as valueless as Dr. Johnson chose to represent them, it behoved England to resent the conduct of the Spaniards in falling upon her little colony at Port Egmont in a time of peace. Any mean submission to a small injury or affront inevitably leads to a greater; and until states,

* 'London Geographical Journal,' Parts iii. and vi.
'Penny Cyclopaedia,' Art. Falkland Islands.

and governments, and individuals be better than they are—until some notable improvement takes place in human nature—the best way to preserve peace is always to be ready for a war.

The House of Commons engaged in another long and troublesome quarrel with printers and publishers. Hitherto the mutilated, and occasionally invented, speeches of honourable members and noble lords had only appeared under fictitious names in monthly magazines and other periodical works, published at considerable intervals. By this system the public were partially informed of what their representatives had done; but they did not get this information till after discussion was completely over, and the matter in debate settled. Thus, all power of interfering with or influencing the discussion, either by petitions, or by the exposure of mis-statements or false reasoning, or by any other demonstration of opinion, might be said to be taken away from the people. Wilkes, the Letters of Junius, the interest felt about the Falkland Island question, the growing enlightenment and curiosity of the people, with the efforts made by the legislature to repress it—all contributed to make the public long for a full reporting newspaper, and encouraged the printers to venture upon giving the proceedings of parliament (in as far as they could procure the information) from week to week, or from day to day, as they occurred, instead of giving them, as formerly, as mere matters of history or chronicle at the end of the month. The parliament sitting in the year 1771 had been labouring with all their might to shut their doors, and to keep them shut, in the face of the nation, to choke all attempts at publicity, and to seclude themselves as rigorously as a retired jury, or as a secret irresponsible tribunal. The newspaper people, who must have foreseen, and who, no doubt, provided for what followed, began to give accounts of debates as they occurred about January. On the 5th of February Colonel George Onslow, now one of the lords of the treasury, rose in the House of Commons to denounce the insolence and wickedness of these proceedings; and to move the reading of the reso-

lutions of the 26th of February, 1728. The resolutions were read accordingly, being to this effect:—"That it is an indignity to, and a breach of privilege of, this House for any person to presume to give in written or printed newspapers any account or minutes of debate, or other proceedings of this House, or any part thereof; and that, upon discovery of the authors, printers, or publishers of any such written or printed newspaper, this House will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity." It was then ordered that there should be a call of the House on the 8th of February. Upon that day Onslow renewed his complaints, and said that the newspaper people had been calling him names. "They call me," said he, "little Cocking George! but I am a cock they will not easily beat. I never will give up this point!" Alderman Trecothick said, "I wish every man in England might hear what passes in this House. I doubt whether this House has a right to punish publications respecting public proceedings, if they are given correctly." Burke delivered a good speech, in the course of which he said, "As long as there is an interest out of doors to examine the proceedings of parliament, so long will you find men that will do what these printers have done." Onslow's stern award was, however, carried by a majority of 80 against 55, and two of the printers, Thompson and Wheble, were called to the bar of the House, to answer the charge of infringing the standing order, &c.* The printers took no notice of the order; and towards the end of the month the serjeant-at-arms was directed to take them into custody. That functionary could not find them, and was taunted and laughed at while prosecuting his search. On the 1st of March there was another debate upon printers; and it was moved by ministers that Evans should attend at the bar. Mr. Whitworth moved to add, "and with all his compositors, pressmen, type, and devils." Mr. James Townsend begged that "the devils," at least, might be left out; but Burke said, "The devil is the

* Cavendish's Debates.

most material person in all this business—the most material evidence for discovery!” Sir Cecil Wray, who did not like these facetiæ, complained that on both sides gentlemen were behaving in a gross and ludicrous manner. In the end, a motion for adjournment being lost, Evans, the printer, was ordered to attend.* Evans treated the order with contempt. On the 4th of March Colonel Onslow moved for an address to the king to issue a proclamation, offering a reward of fifty pounds for the apprehension of either of the contumacious printers. This was agreed to, and the royal proclamation was issued accordingly. On the 12th of March the gallant colonel enlarged the campaign by denouncing six more printers as guilty of the same enormities. The minority, though weak in numbers, had made a strong opposition at every stage of these harsh proceedings: they now kept up the debate till four o’clock in the morning, and divided the House no fewer than four-and-twenty times! The battle was renewed on the 14th, when twelve more divisions took place, but it was in the end carried by an immense majority that all the printers accused should be brought to the bar of the House. On the next day (the 15th of March) Wheble was carried before Alderman Wilkes by another printer, or printer’s man, named Twyne Carpenter. Wilkes instantly discharged Wheble from custody, and made him enter into his own recognisance to prosecute Carpenter at the next Old Bailey sessions for false imprisonment or an illegal arrest. Then Wheble went at large and Carpenter claimed the fifty pounds reward, as having done his part in apprehending one of the printers and carrying him before a magistrate. The secretary of state refused to pay the money, as government suspected his intention in carrying his prisoner before Wilkes. Wilkes wrote to the secretary of state to justify his own conduct and to declare that the proclamation did not charge Wheble with any crime, and that the taking him into custody had been a gross violation of the liberty of the subject, and

* Cavendish’s Debates: from the Egerton MSS.

of the chartered privileges of the City. On the same day Thompson, another printer named in the proclamation, was carried before Alderman Oliver, who followed Wilkes's example, and discharged him. Of the six other printers charged by Colonel Onslow, four presented themselves; a fifth (W. Woodfall) could not attend, being already in custody in Newgate by order of the House of Lords; and the sixth (Millar) refused to obey the summons of the Commons. Colonel Onslow obtained another order to the serjeant-at-arms. The serjeant sent into the city Whitham, one of the messengers, who, instead of taking Millar, was taken prisoner himself by John Town, a City constable, who carried him off to Guildhall. Wilkes, the sitting alderman, said he had finished the business of the day and would not enter upon the case. The messenger was then conveyed by Millar and the constable to the Mansion House. The lord mayor, Brass Crosby, being, or pretending to be, indisposed, the messenger was kept there for three hours. Between six and seven o'clock in the evening the lord mayor, attended by Wilkes and Oliver, admitted the parties, among whom was now included the deputy serjeant-at-arms. The printer having stated his complaint, the mayor asked the messenger by what authority he had presumed to commit the assault? The messenger pleaded the order of the speaker of the Commons, and produced his warrant; and then the deputy-serjeant announced in a technical and solemn manner, that he was there by the speaker's command to carry off not only the messenger but also his prisoner Millar. The bold triumvirate who sat in judgment represented that by the City charters no caption could be made east of Temple Bar without the authority of the lord mayor; and that the arrest of any citizen by one who was neither peace officer nor constable was an offence not to be overlooked. They discharged Millar out of the custody of the messenger, and then allowed the printer and his witnesses to prove the assault which had been committed upon him, and which consisted in the messenger's having taken hold of him by the arm. By direction of the serjeant-at-arms,

the messenger refused to give bail ; and thereupon my Lord Mayor Crosby and Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver signed a warrant committing him to the Compter. The officers came in to carry off the messenger, but bail was then offered and accepted ; and the deputy-serjeant and the messenger took their departure for the more courtly end of the town. Crosby was a stanch lord mayor, and Oliver an intrepid alderman, but in all these transactions people perceived the daring genius of John Wilkes. Alderman Sawbridge and Mr. Sheriff Townshend took no sort of part in the proceedings, and differed in opinion from those who did ; and even Chatham thought that the lord mayor and his two allies had gone rather too far in committing the messenger of the House and holding him to bail.* The deputy serjeant-at-arms, on the 18th of March, reported what had passed to the Commons ; and the Commons, in a fury of indignation, issued orders for the lord mayor to attend in his place, and to the lord mayor's clerk to bring up the Mansion House minute-book, in which the proceedings had been entered. The lord mayor went down to the House, followed by an immense mob and loud huzzas, on the afternoon of the 19th. He alleged that he was ill, and that he was bound by his oaths of office to guard the City franchises, and to act as he had done. Mr. Charles Fox, who had been hissed and hooted by the people, was exceedingly irate. He said that there were two other criminals, aldermen both, and he moved to proceed against Oliver, adding, that delays were dangerous ; that no business ought to go on till this was settled ; that the question was, whether the privileges of the House should die or live ; he also spoke of assassins, but even in the height of his wrath he abstained from pronouncing the name of Wilkes. Colonel Barré told Fox that the worst kind of assassin was he who stabs a man behind his back. As none of his enemies ventured to name Wilkes, his friend Sir Joseph Mawbey stood up, and, with a very obvious

* Colonel Barré to Chatham and Chatham to Barré, in Chatham Cor.

motive, begged to move the attendance of John Wilkes, Esq., &c., saying that, as they had attacked the lord mayor and Oliver, it would be exceedingly strange if they passed over Wilkes, who had taken so capital a part in the City proceedings. The House was thus obliged to meddle again with this dangerous adversary, and to command his attendance at the bar. Wilkes set them at defiance, refusing to attend unless in his seat as member for Middlesex! The summons was repeated three several times, but without producing any effect. "I observe," said Wilkes, in a letter to the speaker, "that no notice is taken of me in your order as a member of the House, and that I am not required to attend in my place: both these circumstances ought to have been mentioned in my case, and I hold them absolutely indispensable. In the name of the freeholders of Middlesex I again demand my seat, having the honour of being freely chosen, by a very great majority, one of the representatives for the said county." Nothing remained but compulsion, and this ministers were afraid of using. His majesty had said, "*I will have nothing more to do with that devil Wilkes.*"* And so he was left to do as he pleased. This avowed weakness with regard to one who was considered as being the very head and front of the offence brought the whole cabinet into contempt. The lord mayor's clerk appeared with the minute-book and, submitting to the House, erased the commitment of the messenger and the whole of that record; for which conduct a severe reprimand was passed upon him by a general court of aldermen.† The town-clerk was amusing himself at Bath, so that the charters

* Letter to Chatham.

† We have examined the Minute-book at the Mansion-house. The erasure—in all about ten lines—seems to have been done by a very angry or determined pen. It is so broad and black that it is not easy to read the words beneath: It appears that Millar was accompanied by Henry Page, of Newgate-Street, printer, and by John Topping, of Little Old Bailey, printer; and that Millar was regularly bound over to prosecute the messenger.

of the City could not be had for reference ; and, on this account, and because of the mayor's indisposition, some delay was allowed. But on the 25th of March, the lord mayor and Alderman Oliver were both in the House. His lordship refused the assistance of counsel under limitations proposed, which were, that they should not be allowed to dispute the privileges of the Commons ; and spoke at large in his own defence, reading, among other things, the oaths of office and City charter. Mr. Welbore Ellis moved the ministerial resolutions—" That, to release a person taken by virtue of the speaker's warrant, to apprehend a messenger of the House for executing his warrant, and to hold the messenger to bail for such pretended assault, were all breaches of privilege ;" and, upon a division, at midnight, this was agreed to by a majority of 272 against 90. After this division Sir George Saville, Lord George Cavendish, Mr. Dowdeswell, and other members of opposition seceded, and the lord mayor, on account of his health, was allowed to withdraw. The mob waiting outside the House received the mayor with loud huzzas, took the horses from his carriage, and dragged him home in triumph. All the avenues to the House were crowded, many members were insulted, and the magistrates of Westminster were called in to keep the peace and disperse the mob. Late as it was, ministers proposed to proceed against the alderman. The opposition moved an adjournment ; but this was negatived by 214 against 97. When the alderman was called upon for his defence, he said, he owned and gloried in the fact laid to his charge ; and, as he expected little from their justice, he defied their power. This provoked Lord North, who had not meant to go so far, to prompt Welbore Ellis to move the alderman's commitment to the Tower. Alderman Oliver asked leave to call at his own house before going to prison, which was granted ; the House then (at four in the morning) adjourned, and, at seven o'clock, the alderman was carried quietly to the Tower.

In the course of the long and outrageous debate Alderman Townshend had declaimed against wanton abuse of

privilege by both Houses, and their foul attempt to keep the people ignorant of what they were doing: he had spoken of the general discontent prevailing out of doors, and had told them that the real great cause of that discontent was the king's mother. On the 27th they called up the lord mayor. All the avenues were again beset by an immense mob, who insulted several of the ministerial members, and treated Lord North and Mr. Fox still more roughly. The motion first proposed was, that the lord mayor, on account of his delicate health, should not be sent to the Tower, but only be committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. But Crosby disdained this indulgence, defied the treasury-bench, and desired that he might be sent to join his honourable and noble-minded friend in the Tower. Mr. Welbore Ellis, therefore, moved an amendment to that effect; and this was carried by a majority of 202 against 39. The report had spread that Lord North would assuredly resign. His lordship now declared that, though he wished much for ease and retirement, he had no thought of going out; that nothing but the king or the mob, who were near destroying him that day, could remove him; and that he was determined to weather out the storm. He was affected to tears while he spoke, and then so far forgot his habitual good-nature and discretion, as to accuse the minority of having hired the mob to destroy him.* The tumult out of doors continued to be so violent that the House was obliged to stop business for some hours; the justices of Westminster came to the bar to declare that they could not read the Riot Act, and that the constables were overpowered; and, upon this, the sheriffs were

* The mob had seized Lord North, had got him amongst them, and, but for the interference of Sir William Meredith, one of the chiefs of the opposition, it was thought they would have demolished him. On the next day Mr. Charles Fox complained to the House that he too had been grossly insulted by the mob in Palace-yard, who had broken the glasses of his carriage and pelted him with oranges and stones.

called upon, who went out of the House with many of the popular members, who spoke to the people and succeeded in restoring tranquillity. About ten o'clock at night the lord mayor left the House in custody of the deputy serjeant-at-arms. The trick of adjournment was resorted to, in order to save the dignity of the House with regard to the non-appearance of Wilkes. They had appointed the 8th of April for his compulsory appearance at the bar, and they adjourned till the 9th. In the meantime all honour was paid to the captives in the Tower: they were visited by the Dukes of Manchester and Portland, Earls Fitzwilliam and Tankerville, Lord King, Admiral Keppel, Sir Charles Saunders, Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Burke, and many others: the two sheriffs waited upon them to express their entire disapprobation of all the proceedings against them; and at a meeting of the common council the day after their commitment the thanks of the City were unanimously voted to such members of the House of Commons as had supported the lord mayor and his colleagues, and maintained the rights and privileges of the city. On Friday, the 5th of March, the two captives were brought by *habeas corpus* from the Tower to Lord Chief Justice de Grey's chambers, attended by a host of friends. After hearing Serjeant Glynn and Mr. Lee, the lord chief justice said that he could neither bail nor discharge them. They were then taken to Lord Mansfield's chambers. "This," said Mansfield, "is no new case. I am obliged to go by law and precedent. I can neither bail nor discharge you while the parliament is sitting:" and so they were carried back to the Tower, where they remained till the 8th of May, when parliament was prorogued. In the grand *mêlée* of lord mayor and aldermen, the printers and the newspapers were allowed to escape unnoticed and unscathed. They had, in fact, obtained advantages equal to a victory, and had little more to fear from publishing speeches and debates. Eventually nothing was done, or even attempted against them; and thus was established the practice of publishing the debates in newspapers—a practice now justly considered to be essential to the effec-

five working of the representative system.* But for John Wilkes the right might not have been established for years.

To eke out the ways and means Lord North thought himself obliged to resort to a lottery, which has been properly described as one of the worst ways of raising money. On the 30th of April the question of the Middlesex election was again brought before the Lords by the Duke of Richmond, who moved for expanding the resolution adopted on that subject. Chatham delivered a long harangue—apparently without being interrupted—and the speech was reported at full length in the ‘Public Advertiser.’ The great orator had been consulting with his friends whether it would not be proper to get up a question about shortening the duration of parliaments and increasing the number of county members; but he collected little encouragement, and therefore contented himself with moving, on the 1st of May, for an address to the king to dissolve the present parliament at the end of the session, and to call a new one with all convenient despatch. The exciting speech he delivered on this occasion was also published forthwith in the ‘Public Advertiser.’ It drew a sad contrast between the state of the country now and the condition it was in only a few years before. The treaty of Fontainebleau, the late convention with Spain concerning the Falkland Islands, were again stigmatised as mean and dishonourable; the occurrences in St. George’s Fields were again held up to detestation; the proceedings against Wilkes were once more recapitulated; and America, where the storm was lulled, not past, was described as being injured, insulted by an inept ministry and corrupt parliament. He did not lower the popular tone in speaking of the occurrences in St. George’s Fields: he called them “murders.”

On the 8th of May an end was put to this long and stormy session.

* Changes of Administration and History of Parties, in Comp. to Newspaper.—Parl. Hist.—Letters from Calcraft and Colonel Barré to Chatham, in Chat. Corres.

The death of the Earl of Halifax, on the 8th of June, gave occasion to much speculation as to the person likely to succeed him as one of the secretaries of state. At first it was said that Lord Weymouth would have the place; and then it was reported that Weymouth was to be privy seal, and the Earl of Suffolk secretary of state. Suffolk, in fact, got Halifax's place, but the privy seal was given to the *Duke of Grafton*, who at first declined it, and then changed his mind. It is said that his grace made it the condition of his taking the privy seal that he should not attend the cabinet. The Duke of Bedford, or his party, abused Grafton for taking it on any condition. The conduct of Chatham while holding the privy seal might have served as a precedent for Grafton's holding office without performing any of its duties. The Earl of Suffolk, the new secretary of state, insisted that his friend Lord Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, should be chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, left vacant by the death of Lord Strange; and Lord Hyde begged that the salary attached to that office should be augmented. The colour of the cabinet was scarcely altered by these changes, for, though Halifax had once passed for a Whig, it seems to have been more from his name and descent than from any active principles of his own. The restoration of Grafton, however, caused a great stir; and moved, more thoroughly than anything else had done, the atrabilious rancour of Junius, who had prided himself on having driven his grace into retirement. On the 22nd of June he addressed his grace through the columns of the 'Public Advertiser' in a tremendous letter, written with unusual care and with a concentration of spite. The king was no more spared than the Duke of Grafton.

Wilkes, not satisfied with his alderman's gown, was now aspiring to be sheriff, and his pretensions were supported by the great ward of Farringdon and by other parts of the City. The court took alarm, and made use of all its influence to prevent his election. Yet Wilkes was ultimately elected in conjunction with his friend Alderman Bull.

A.D. 1772.—Contrary to usual custom, parliament did not meet till after the Christmas holidays. On the 21st of January the king opened it with a speech which said nothing. The addresses were passed in both Houses without a division. On the 29th of January, in a committee of supply, Mr. Buller informed the House that his majesty expected they would vote a considerable augmentation to our naval force, as additional ships were required in the Levant, where Russia was carrying on a maritime war with Turkey; in the East Indies, where France seemed to be collecting a force; and in Jamaica and the West India seas. He said that the whole force need not exceed 25,000 men, including 6664 marines. Colonel Barré condemned the whole conduct of ministers as dark, mysterious, and inexplicable; and said that they were especially blameable for not telling the House honestly the grounds upon which they called for 25,000 men. He treated the boasts of wisdom and moderation in managing the Falkland Island quarrel with contempt, and denied that ministers had prevented war. "You know well," said he, "to whom you owe this uncertain peace—you owe it to a woman!"* He then alluded to the triumph of the Czarina over the Sultan in the Archipelago, and to the authority and insolence which the Russians had shown for the first time in the Mediterranean Sea—subjects which were all exceedingly irritating to the sailors and to a very considerable portion of the people of England. "We have done, Sir," said he, "something of very great moment. There is an event which has astonished the world! We have seen the frigates of Russia in the centre of the Archipelago! The assistance of England, the supplies of our dockyards, helped to carry them thither, and to effect their mighty purpose. Have you well weighed the nature of this good office? Have you considered it to the bottom? I suppose you have endeavoured to avail yourselves of the service which you have done to a great power; but, if you have gained the friendship of the

* Louis XV.'s mistress, Madame du Barry.

Czarina, you have also gained the eternal hatred of the Ottoman Porte!" He then spoke of our former ally, Frederick, as if he had some foreknowledge of the schemes against Poland entertained by that great soldier, but selfish despot and remorseless politician. "Have you considered," said he, "what the King of Prussia is doing? His conduct is threatening, dark, and mysterious. . . . I suspect there is something concealed that requires this great armament." Mr. Buller's motion, however, was carried without a division.*

As early as the 20th of February a message was delivered to parliament from the king, stating that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family had ever belonged to the kings of this realm as matter of prerogative, but recommending both Houses to take into serious consideration whether it might not be wise and expedient to supply the defect of the laws, and by some new provision more effectually to guard the descendants of George II. from marrying without the consent of the king, his heirs, and successors. The causes which led to this message are soon told. The Duke of Cumberland, the second of the king's surviving brothers, after seducing the young and handsome wife of Earl Grosvenor, and figuring in a crim. con. trial on that account, in the year 1770, contracted, in November, 1771, a private marriage with Mrs. Horton, widow of Christopher Horton, Esq., of Cotton Hall, in the county of Derby, a daughter of Lord Ingham and sister of that Colonel Luttrell, who had, in more senses than one, been keeping Wilkes's seat warm in the House of Commons. Junius had told the people that this high marriage of his sister was one of the rewards which the colonel received for his services to ministers and his offences against the constitution. But as soon as the king heard of the mis-alliance he sternly forbade his brother the court. In the following spring his majesty's other brother, the Duke of Gloucester, ventured, nevertheless, to make public his marriage with the charming widow of the late Earl of Wal-

* Cavendish's Debates.

degrave, to whom he had been privately united some five or six years. There were, perhaps, good and solid grounds of a political nature for objecting to this kind of union between members of the royal family and subjects; but it is understood that George III., and still more Queen Charlotte, who was absolutely fanatic on these subjects, based their objections and their resentments on feelings much more personal. Both entertained extreme notions as to the dignity conferred by birth and remote descent; both believed as firmly as if it were an article of religious faith, that the blood of princes was contaminated by any admixture with less precious blood. They prided themselves on the antiquity of the House of Brunswick, on the family of Guelph, and the "antique brood" of Este, from which they were equally descended, and the origin of which is lost in the obscurity of the ninth century. According to the embarrassing scheme of her countrymen the Germans, and according to Queen Charlotte's own belief, there was not in all England a single family that could substantiate its claim to pure unmixed descent, or to real nobility; but the families out of which the two royal dukes had chosen their wives were deficient in aristocratic pretensions even in the less severe construction of the English heralds. The Luttrells were an undistinguished stock of Irish Protestants. The beautiful Countess Dowager Waldegrave was the *natural* daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, brother to the great minister, whose father was a plain country gentleman, a Norfolk squire of the second or third magnitude. The Duke of Gloucester was forbidden the court like Cumberland; and so lasting was the royal resentment, that for ten years neither of these brothers was received by king or queen. In ready compliance with his majesty's message, a bill was brought into the House of Lords by which it was declared that none of the royal family, being under the age of twenty-five years, should marry without the king's consent; after attaining that age they were at liberty, in case of the king's refusal, to apply to the privy council, by announcing the name of the person they were desirous to espouse, and if,

within a year, neither House of Parliament should address the king against it, the marriage might be legally solemnized; but all persons assisting in or knowing of an intention in any of the royal family to marry without fulfilling these ceremonies, and not disclosing it, incurred the penalties of a premunire. In the House of Lords the bill was vehemently opposed in all its stages; and the House divided on the second reading, on the preamble, and on every one of its clauses. The Marquess of Rockingham distinguished himself in this opposition: he said that the royal family might in time become so extensive as to include thousands of individuals, and that it would be barbarous to pretend to enforce, and impossible to execute, the provisions of the act upon so many persons. But every amendment was rejected, and the bill, as originally framed by the crown lawyers, was passed by a majority of 90 against 26. Two strong protests were entered upon the journals; and the bill was sent down to the Commons. There it was opposed with still more violence. Upon the final division, which carried the bill, the ministerial majority was less overwhelming than usual, being only 168 against 115. During the debate none but members of the House were allowed to be present, though many of the peers made application for admittance. "Nothing," writes Shelburne, "but the manner of carrying through that registered edict could have excited any feeling on that subject."*

In closing the present session, on the 10th of June, the king expressed his great satisfaction at the temper and moderation displayed by parliament. Lord North, who, in spite of his somnolency, had improved himself as a man of business, seemed now firmly seated, and this appearance or conviction augmented his real strength and brought over the waverers and time-servers to his

* Letter to Chatham, in Chatham Corres. While it was depending in parliament, some person said that the bill should be entitled "An Act to encourage Fornication and Adultery in the Descendants of George II."

side. But in the course of the session which had just ended, North saw clearly that he was about to lose the support of one of the best of his debaters, and the most promising of all his orators in the House of Commons. This was Fox, whose conversion to Whig principles was somewhat sudden. Towards the end of February, Gibbon had written to his friend—"Charles Fox is commenced patriot, and is already attempting to pronounce the words *country, liberty, corruption*, &c. ; with what success, time will discover. Yesterday he resigned the admiralty. The story is, that he could not prevail on ministers to join with him in his intended repeal of the Marriage Act (a favourite measure of his father, who opposed it from its origin), and that Charles very judiciously thought Lord Holland's friendship imported him more than Lord North's." But ministers felt the value of the services they had thus lost, and Charles Fox, in the most humiliating pecuniary difficulties, probably felt the want of ministerial pay : we shall soon find him returning to office under Lord North, and to a better place than the one he had quitted.

But if the royal mind was tranquillised by increasing assurances of the stability of administration and the weakness of opposition, it was harassed during this year by various domestic afflictions and anxieties. The Princess-dowager of Wales died suddenly on the 6th of February, in the fifty-fourth year of her age ; and before her death her daughter, Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark, was hurled from a throne, and cast into a prison, with the darkest imputations on her character. This unfortunate princess, the youngest of the king's surviving sisters, and said to have been the dearest, was married, as already related, in 1766, to Christian VII., King of Denmark, whose mean appearance and physical defects were not relieved by any high moral or intellectual qualities. Yet such as he was, Christian was a most absolute sovereign. He had for his chief favourite, and then for his prime minister, Count Struensee, who had studied medicine and law, and had renounced both professions for the more profitable life of a courtier. Struensee

possessed considerable abilities, a handsome person, and manners much more dignified and winning than those of his master, the royal Dane.* It was soon observed that the young queen was as fond of his society as was her husband; and that the favourite conversed with her in very familiar terms. The queen, gay, light-hearted, and thoughtless, appears never to have had an idea that she was watched by unfriendly eyes. From her first arrival in Denmark, Juliana Maria, the queen-dowager, had taken a strong dislike to her; and this aversion was increased when it was seen that Matilda and Struensee, with the assistance of Brandt, a young nobleman, exercised complete authority over the indolent and imbecile king, and directed the government as they chose, to the exclusion of the dowager and her party, who had hitherto ruled the state at will. Juliana Maria's friends were numerous and powerful, including most of the nobility, who were incensed at seeing a man of no hereditary rank put at the head of the government.

On the morning of the 16th of January, 1772, at an early hour, and not long after the young queen had retired to rest from a masked ball, her apartment was suddenly entered by a female attendant, who presented to her a written order from the king to remove instantly from Copenhagen. It is said that this order had been procured, a few minutes before, by the queen-dowager, her son Frederick (Christian's half-brother), and two nobles, who terrified the king into the belief that his wife and Struensee were actually conspiring to depose him. As soon as Matilda had read the order she sprang out of her bed and ran towards her husband's apartment, but, seeing Count Rantzau, the minister for foreign

* King Christian's neglect of his young wife began soon after his marriage. In 1768, when he set out upon a tour, during which he passed several months in England, made a long stay in Paris, and visited nearly every court in Europe, he left his wife behind him in Denmark to be harassed and tormented by his step-mother, Juliana Maria. It was in the course of these travels that he became acquainted with Struensee, who was then practising physic at Altona.

affairs, in the antechamber, she went back to her room to attend to her dress. When she again attempted to seek the king she was seized by Rantzau, who owed his elevation to Struensee, but who had deserted his friend, and by three officers with drawn swords, who hurried her away half dressed as she was, and forced her, shrieking and resisting, into a carriage, which was driven with headlong speed to the Castle of Cronborg, about twenty-four miles from the capital. She was immured in that fortress with an English lady of her suite, and her infant daughter, the Princess Louisa, whom she was suckling at the time. In the meanwhile Struensee and Brandt were seized by Colonel Koller Banner, conveyed to the citadel of Copenhagen, cast into dungeons, and loaded with irons. That night there was a general illumination in Copenhagen; and by the next morning the queen-dowager and her party had taken entire possession of the government, and displaced every one that adhered either to Struensee or to the young queen. The treatment of the fallen minister and his colleague Brandt was barbarous in the extreme. Struensee was chained so closely to the wall of his cold damp dungeon as scarcely to be able to turn himself; he was frequently deprived of the common necessities of life, and was occasionally threatened with the torture to make him confess all that his enemies dictated. He and his companion in misfortune were soon put upon their trial before a special commission, composed entirely of those who had headed the palace revolution or who had profited by it. The proceedings were secret, and conducted with indecent haste. Struensee was declared to be guilty of adulterous connexion with the young queen, and of other high crimes, and both he and Brandt were condemned to die the death of traitors—a punishment which, in Denmark, consisted in having the right hand cut off first, and then the head.

A suit of divorce was then instituted against the young queen, on the ground of a criminal intimacy with Struensee; and several of her own attendants, who are said, however, to have been placed over her as spies by the dowager, deposed against her, and swore to a number of

criminating or suspicious facts. Matilda, with no one to defend her, without the power of procuring witnesses, with horrible threats ringing in her ears, and with none but revengeful enemies before her eyes, admitted that she had been guilty of many follies and indiscretions, but denied that she had ever sinned against the seventh commandment; and this denial, it is said she repeated in her dying moments. Nevertheless, the secret commission found her guilty, and pronounced sentence of divorce. It was even proposed to try her on a capital charge, with a view to set aside her son and daughter, and to open the way to the throne for Prince Frederick, the son of Juliana Maria, a plan which that dowager had been pursuing all along. If the unfortunate Matilda had been a daughter of one of those little princes in Germany, from whose families the Protestant dynasties generally chose their wives, there is every probability that she would have died on a scaffold like Struensee, or have been immured for life in some dreadful state-prison; but she was the sister of one of the greatest sovereigns in Europe, whose hostility was to be dreaded; and George III., by means of his ambassador, Sir Robert Murray, remonstrated and menaced, and finally induced the Danish court to agree that she should quit the kingdom and live under the protection of her brother. An English squadron proceeded to Cronborg to receive the dethroned and dishonoured queen. Her infant daughter still at her breast, was torn from her, and she embarked in an agony of grief, apparently insensible to everything but the feelings of a mother—feelings rendered the more acute as the child was at that moment sick and in danger from the measles. Matilda remained upon deck with her eyes immoveably fixed on the walls of Cronborg Castle till darkness intercepted the view. The night was calm or the wind contrary, for on the following morning the tall tapering towers of the castle were still to be seen, and the bereaved mother could not be induced to return to the cabin until the last visible point of the towers had sunk below the horizon. She was landed at the Hanoverian seaport of Stade, and was thence conveyed to the

castle of Zell, in Hanover, which, for a short period, had, under very similar circumstances, been the abode of her great-grandmother, Sophia Dorothea, the wretched wife of George I., and which was now selected by her brother for her future residence. Here a cheap little court was formed for her, and her expenses were supplied out of the Hanoverian revenue, or, which is more probable, out of the English privy purse. Her chief amusement was music—an art a taste for which was hereditary in her family, and in which she is said to have excelled. She procured portraits of her infant son and daughter, whom she was never to see again, and was frequently heard talking to them as if those shadows had sense and life. She did not long survive her misfortunes, dying on the 10th of May, 1775, in the twenty-fourth year of her age, expressing, it is said, the most perfect forgiveness of all her enemies. There were many and respectable exceptions, but, generally, writers and people on the Continent were disposed to believe that she was guilty with Struensee. In England the contrary belief existed and has maintained its ground; and when, sixteen years after the grave had closed over her, and in a very different quarrel, the English fleet, under Nelson and Parker, forced the passage of the Sound, gliding by her former prison, Cronborg Castle, which thundered at them with a hundred guns, and appeared before Copenhagen to annihilate the navy of Denmark, it was supposed that many a British sailor fought the more fiercely from his recollections of the wrongs or woes of the English princess. But even here the poetical justice—if such it were to be considered—was not complete; for “the prince of all the land,” who “led on” the Danes on that dismal day, and fought the English ships like a hero, was the Crown Prince—the son of Caroline Matilda!*

In the beginning of this same year (1772) a sudden

* A curious sequel to the story of Matilda is, that her son Frederick treated his wife as she had been treated by his father.

revolution took place at Stockholm. About half a century before the nobility of Sweden had limited the prerogative of the crown, and had erected themselves into an absolute oppressive oligarchy. Since the establishment of this aristocratical government the country had been split into two factions, which were denominated the Hats and the Caps. Encouraged by this division, and by the notoriety of the fact that the aristocratical senate was as venal as it was proud, and that the leaders who called themselves patriots were in the pay of Russia, the reigning sovereign, Gustavus III., resolved to overthrow the senate and re-erect the old monarchical despotism. He proceeded to mature his measures with extreme secrecy and precaution. He gradually gained over the mass of the army; he secured the affections of the brave people of Dalecartia, who had established the dynasty of Gustavus Vasa; he captivated the citizens, who were sufficiently tired of the arrogance, oppression, and corruption of the nobles; and he secured the services of the burgher-guard of the capital. Without the shedding of a single drop of blood, the revolution was achieved. The fallen oligarchy left few causes of regret; but the Swedes committed precisely the same mistake as the Danes had done a hundred and twelve years before, in establishing the absolute despotism of the crown.

The Tzarina Catherine professed great abhorrence at this subversion of national institutions, and talked of taking up arms for the defence of Swedish liberty, which the Swedes themselves were weary of. It was strange to see this autocratix putting herself forward as the champion of freedom; but everybody understood her real motive, which was only to re-establish the power of the nobles, that she might bribe them and buy them as before, and through their means keep Sweden neutral or subservient, as it had hitherto been. But Prussia and Austria could not agree with her in her Swedish schemes; and her war with the Turks and the crisis of Poland called off her arms and even her attention from Gustavus III. Russia, since the accession of this Semiramis, or Messalina, of the North, had been the scene of

another royal or imperial murder, as also of another Perkin Warbeck-like insurrection. The murder was that of the legitimate Tzar Ivan, who had been dethroned in his infancy in 1741, and kept in a state-prison ever since. The insurrection, which was not put down without torrents of blood, was that of Ymelka Pugatchef, a Don Cossack, who pretended to be Catherine's husband, Peter III., who had been murdered long ago. But these state storms and crimes, and a life more profligate than that of any reigning sovereign, did not prevent Catherine from obtaining a wonderful reputation among nations: her ambition and her abilities were equally indisputable; the power of Russia continued to rise under her sway; and her alliance, as that of the great power of the North, was courted by all the potentates of Europe. At the same time the authors and wits of Europe, who, generally speaking, were well paid for their praise,—the Voltaires, the d'Alemberts, the Diderots, the Mullers, the Algarottis,—eulogised in verse, and in much better prose, the energy of her character and government, and the wisdom of her internal reforms. And, it must be candidly admitted that, in these reforms there was much that could fairly challenge a spontaneous admiration. It was their boast, and it was considered by the nation as one of the brightest achievements of the truly humane and liberal Rockingham administration, that they had concluded (in the year 1766) a commercial treaty with the Empress of Russia.

But the year 1772 was more memorable to the Poles than to any other people, for it witnessed the first partition of their distracted country. Catherine, who had nominated to the throne at the last farce of a free election by the Polish magnates, would probably have been contented for some time longer with the complete influence and ascendancy she had over Poland; but circumstances and the impatient greed of Prussia and Austria forced her into other schemes, and hurried on the catastrophe. If the partition of Poland; is to be ascribed to any one single head, it is rather to Frederick the Great than to Catherine, or Maria Theresa, or the Emperor

Joseph, although the Prussian despot got the smallest number of square miles by the division. This vast state, which at one time extended from the shores of the Black Sea to the Baltic, and was long considered as the bulwark of Christendom against the encroachments of the Turks, preserved, with fatal tenacity, an antiquated form of government, whilst all the countries of Europe (except Russia, which could scarcely be called a European power until its acquisitions in Poland) gradually adapted their systems to the change and progress of society. If some countries were later than others—if the degrees of freedom varied as the *people* of different states were more or less advanced in civilization and political rights, still, throughout Europe there was a people—a *bourgeoisie*—a “*tiers état* ;” but Poland, even in the eighteenth century, was utterly devoid of that essential component of a nation. The Polish nobles were the proprietors of all the land; the agricultural labourers were serfs, “*adscripti glebæ*,” as in Russia; there were no manufactures, and the commerce of the country was entirely in the hands of the Jews. In Poland, then, there continued to be, even to our own times, no other distinction among men than that of masters and slaves. All power was in the possession of the nobles, who each asserted for himself the most absolute equality. This aristocratic republic was headed by a phantom of a king; the crown was elective, and every *noble* could aspire to it. The intrigues, the dissensions, the bloodshed, that resulted from such a system may be easily imagined, and, indeed, the crown was rarely transferred without the horrors of a civil war. Their singular constitution was, moreover, admirably adapted to produce as much confusion and anarchy during the reigns of their titular kings as ensued in the interregnuma. One of its first articles insisted on the “*liberum veto*,” and the unanimity of consent or decision. A majority in the national diet, however great, went for nothing—the opposition of a single member present, or of a flying recusant, was sufficient to obstruct any given measure. In the *diets*, or provincial assemblies, the same absurd regulations obtained; and in them a some-

what startling mode of disposing of a minority was frequently resorted to—that is, *they were massacred by the majority to produce a unanimity*, the sabre being a more effective instrument than oratory or argument.

The constantly recurring horrors of civil war, the devastation of the country, and the experience of ages, were all inadequate to make the nobles forego this constitution, which contained many other clauses almost equally dangerous, and which seemed to have been framed by the very demon of anarchy. A scrupulous adherence to its letter occasionally elicited scenes puerile and ridiculous; but neither absurdity nor horror had any effect upon the Polish nobles, who clung to the worst constitution in the world, because it gave every one of them a chance of a crown which was not worth having. In Poland every great state officer was *de facto* independent of the crown. The king was a mere cipher, and whenever he made an attempt to assert his prerogative, he was sure to be opposed by a league of the great men in office. Although the dismembering and breaking up of a European nation seemed, when it happened (in 1772) a tremendous and almost unnatural event, filling men's minds with consternation, yet such a measure, suggested by the divided, helpless condition to which the country was reduced by its insane institutions, had been *twice* seriously contemplated long before. The first proposal of the kind was made, very secretly, in 1658, by Count Stippenback, the ambassador of Sweden, during the wars of Gustavus Adolphus. The Duke of Prussia—better known at that period by the title of Elector of Brandenburg—the Austrians, who were at the moment in possession of the ancient capital of the Polish kingdom, and the Swedes, were to be the co-partitioners. The second time the question of dismemberment was agitated was after the defeat of Charles XII. of Sweden at Pultawa, when the Tzar Peter the Great became the arbiter of Poland. Charles had of his own free will dethroned one king of Poland—who, be it said, had originally owed the *elective* crown to the force of foreign arms—and placed another king in his

stead: during Charles's misfortunes, his rival, Peter, exercising the same authority, reinstated Augustus on the throne which that prince had taken a solemn oath never more to pretend to. Augustus could scarcely have offered the shadow of resistance: he was nothing more than a creature of Russia, to whom he was indebted for a dishonoured crown; he was an object of suspicion to his own subjects; and there is ground for believing that he would gladly have concurred in the partition, provided the czar had composed for him out of the fragments of the unhappy country an absolute and hereditary kingdom. But the final hour had not yet come; and owing to many circumstances, which the Poles themselves neither made nor controlled, the country remained in its old condition. But by their new conquests the Russians now pressed on the whole line of the Polish frontier from north to east, and the armies of the czar inundated her provinces whenever he chose. From this period the proud rights of election and the liberty of the Polish aristocracy became empty words and a mockery: their kings were raised to the throne by foreign armies. It could not but happen that the neighbouring powers, who chose to be "king-makers" for the Poles, should, with reference to what they considered their own interests, take especial care never to select a prince who, by character, energies, and the possession of alliances and other means, might be capable of re-elevating a falling state. It was always a feeble prince, with no other army at his orders than the ancient forces of the republic, without discipline, without pay and the means of recruiting, that they sent to wear the semblance of a kingly crown. The national character was rapidly degraded (of course we speak of the nobles—the only class among the Poles who could ever pretend to a national character); it became meanly obsequious, artful, and reserved. As if the elements of discord were not already sufficiently numerous, there were added those of violent religious dissensions, which contributed their share in bringing about the dissolution of Poland. The mass of the country adhered to the tenets of the church

of Rome, and the Catholic clergy were numerous and wealthy. But, scattered over the country, there were many followers of the Greek church; nor had the energetic opposition of the Papists prevented the doctrines of the Reformation from gaining ground—there were many Lutherans and Calvinists, besides Arians. These were known under the general denomination of *Dissidents*.* The order of Jesuits, who cannot generally be reproached with having exhibited the fierce spirit of persecution, stirred up the flames of intolerance in Poland. Henceforth the native land of St. Stanislaus, St. Casimir, of the blessed Hedwiga, and of innumerable saints and confessors, became an intolerant and priest-ridden country. It was chiefly from the reign of Stephen Bathory that the Jesuits assumed an overbearing influence in the affairs of the state. Not satisfied with their triumphs in Poland, the zealous apostles of Catholicism strove to impose their creed upon their neighbours the Russians; and, to accomplish so holy an end, they favoured rebellion and usurpation in Russia. Wars of religion were carried on with more than the usual ferocity of such conflicts; and *toleration* was set down as a damnable heresy. Even in the pacificatory diet held in 1736 the *Pacta Conventa* was annulled; for it was passed into a law (what, indeed, had long been matter of practice) that every Dissident noble should be for ever excluded from the government, and reduced to the condition of a simple subject. The inquisitorial law *de hæretico relapso*, that tyrannical shield of proselytism, had been enacted with all its confiscations and penalties; and the Dissidents were forbidden to build any new places of worship. All this fanaticism was opposed to the present interest of the country, and contrasted in a singular manner with the ancient tolerance to which the republic had owed many of its ac-

* For some very interesting information on this head, see 'Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, and of the Influence which the Scriptural Doctrines have exercised on that Country in Literary, Moral, and Political Respects.' By Count Valerian Krasinski. London, 1838.

quisitions. Red Russia, particularly, became a province of Poland only under the express condition that she should preserve her Christian creed as she had received it from the Greeks; and Leopel, the capital of that province, was the tranquil seat of three bishops of the Greek, the Armenian, and the Latin churches. Indeed, at other times, the Poles had seen, without horror, not only the schismatic church and chapel, but the synagogue and the mosque rise amidst their own temples. Against this impolitic and cruel intolerance the Russians, as members of the Greek church, considered themselves in a special manner bound to protest; and, besides, the courts of Prussia, England, and Denmark, remonstrated at different times, but ineffectually. It will always be found that patriotism can maintain but an unequal struggle with men's feelings for their religion, when under persecution; and, moreover, the Poles of all factions had been so long accustomed to invite foreigners to interfere in their internal dissensions, that nothing could be expected but that the Dissidents should do the same. They did, and the matter was finally brought to an issue by the confederacy of Thorn in 1767, supported by Russian bayonets. Poland might have been the great power of the North, but through her evil institutions her chance had been thrown away, and Russia had risen to that pre-eminence. The king now on the Polish throne was nothing more than the nominee of the tzarina Catherine, whose lover he had been, and who had put the crown on his head in 1764 by force of arms. Stanislaus Poniatowski, who took the name of Stanislaus Augustus, ascended the throne under the most perplexing and unfortunate circumstances: he was bound by gratitude to Catherine, whose intentions against the independence or separate existence of his country were suspected; and he was opposed, thwarted, humiliated, menaced, from first to last, by all the magnates and all the factions that had endeavoured to procure the election of his rivals. Whenever he attempted to rely upon the nobility and their resources, he felt his throne totter under him; whenever he claimed the assistance of Russia,

he was denounced by a large portion of the magnates as a traitor and enemy to his country : and, on the other side, whenever he displayed any Polish feeling or any desire of acting independently, he was menaced by the court of St. Petersburg. After the defeat of the confederates at Barr he was little better than a prisoner in his own capital, under the lock and key of the Russians, who called themselves his deliverers; yet, if he had escaped out of their hands, there was scarcely a spot in Poland where he could have found security, not merely for his throne, but for his life and the lives of his family. It was impossible that Prussia and Austria, whose dominions touched upon the Polish frontiers, should be indifferent spectators of these last struggles, the forerunners of dissolution. When Catherine decreed that Poniatowski should be king, she had concerted her measures with the great Frederick, who marched 40,000 Prussians to the Polish frontier to promote the election and coronation, and from that moment the great general of his day, tired of reposing upon his laurels, occupied his mind with dreams and plans of territorial aggrandisement to be made at the expense of that weak and distracted neighbour. As early as 1768 it was whispered at Vienna that Catherine and Frederick were in a secret understanding, and that the Prussian monarchy, which had been made up, in a comparatively short space of time, by conquests, occupations, and encroachments of all kinds, was to be extended and rounded by a portion cut out of Poland. Yet Austria, and not Prussia, was the first power that stretched out her hand to go shares with Russia, or that actually occupied Polish territory; and one of the last acts of the old Empress Queen, Maria Theresa, was a proof and a pledge that she would agree with the Tzarina in a total dismemberment. But everything was now tending to that melancholy catastrophe, Poland being reduced to so deplorable a state that she could not help herself—a state in which nothing is to be hoped for from the generosity and moderation of powerful neighbours. While the great Russian army was employed on the side of Servia

and Turkey, the Polish confederates, with some slight encouragement from France, took the field once more at the beginning of 1770, and formally proclaimed the throne vacant, summoning Poniatowski to appear before their council. Rushing down from the Carpathian mountains, they cut several Russian detachments to pieces and took a few insignificant fortresses. But the troops were undisciplined and without any consistency or order; the soldiers were without pay, almost naked, badly fed, badly armed, and still worse trained; a portion of the people who adhered to the king considered them as rebels and traitors; and a still larger portion, including nearly the whole body of the serfs, saw little difference between being harassed and pillaged by Poles and being pillaged and harassed by Russians. They had grown indifferent under a prolonged anarchy, and cared not who reigned in Poland, provided it could be in peace. The mass of the population of this *free* country were, like the Russians, and to the same degree, *slaves!* The Polish serfs had never been sufficiently elevated in the scale of humanity and civilization to understand what was going on, or to be warmed by the sacred and enduring flame of patriotism. It is also important to observe that, sprung from the same Slavonic stock, their language, manners, and customs differed but little from those of the Russians. France, possibly, might have taken a more active part in the contest, but the disgrace of the Duke de Choiseul, which had saved England from a war with France and Spain, deprived the Poles of any support from the cabinet of Versailles, and left them to run the chances of the contest with the Turks for their only ally.* Maria Theresa's son, the Emperor Joseph II., had two interviews with Frederick of Prussia, and shortly after the

* The schemes and policy of the court of Versailles shifted and changed many times; but, at last, Louis XV. assured the court of Vienna that he should look on the affairs of Poland with perfect indifference!—*Dépêches et Manifestes de M. le Comte de Broglie.*—*Séjour l'Aîné, Politique de tous les Cabinets, pendant les Règnes de Louis XV. et de Louis XVI.*

latter meeting an Austrian detachment took possession of the little province or Starosty of Zips, situated among the Carpathian mountains, and formerly belonging to Hungary, who had mortgaged it in 1387 to Poland. Stanislaus Augustus remonstrated with the court of Vienna, but, instead of being withdrawn from Zips, the Austrians there were reinforced, and a right was advanced to the possession of that canton. The Prussians were not long behind the Austrians: from that valuable conquest, Silesia, Frederick threw forward a veteran corps, which advanced, with scarcely the shadow of opposition, as far as Posen and Thorn; and 4000 Prussian cavalry took up their quarters on the banks of the Dniester. At the same time the sultan, sinking under the war, applied to Prussia and Austria to mediate for him with the victorious and imperious Catherine; and Frederick, putting himself forward as a generous negotiator, sent his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, to St. Petersburg. By this time the tzarina had become convinced that she could neither rule Poland through her viceroy Stanislaus Augustus, nor appropriate a part of it without allowing considerations to Prussia and Austria. She listened to the suggestions and arguments with which Prince Henry was supplied by his brother; she was alarmed by the proceedings of Austria, who seemed to be helping herself without asking her consent or caring for the rights of the Polish crown; and before Henry returned to Berlin, she certainly agreed in a scheme of dismemberment, which, as we have said, was much rather the project of Frederick the Great than her own. Prussian emissaries were also busy among the Dissidents, assuring the Polish Protestants more particularly that Frederick was the champion of the reformed religion and determined to secure to them liberty of conscience and equality of rights. At the opening of the memorable year 1772, the last year of the independence or integrity of the Polish kingdom, the confederates assembled about 6000 men in Great Poland under Zarembo, a Pole; and Viomenil and Choisi, two distinguished French officers, made themselves masters of the ancient city and castle of

Cracow. Frederick presently ordered his Prussians to advance into Great Poland. Zaremba, unable to face them with his wretched little army, abandoned position after position, and finally threw up his command, and applied, not to his king, but to the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, for pardon and protection. The French officers in Cracow made a gallant defence; but they were compelled to surrender on the 22nd of April. Nearly at the same time news arrived from Vienna that a treaty was certainly signed between Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and fresh columns of Austrians, moving from Hungary, were crossing the Carpathian mountains to advance into the interior of the devoted country. Upon this the council of the confederacy was broken up, its members fled, and an end was put to all resistance. The Turks, their only allies, so far from being able to assist the Poles, were not able to defend themselves. Their Janissaries and their loose hordes of cavalry had everywhere been defeated by the disciplined troops and the artillery of the Russians: * they had lost town after town, and fortress after fortress; making, however, an heroic defence in some of them, as at Ismael; they had been driven back to the Danube and beyond the Danube. Some of their most fertile provinces were occupied by the armies of Catherine; and their fleet had been annihilated in the Mediterranean. Ever since the time of Peter the Great, when Russia first aspired to take rank as a civilised and maritime power, her statesmen had been anticipating the advantages of carrying her flag into the Mediterranean Sea; and the tzarina, having no naval

* The Russian discipline, artillery, and tactics were *then* only good as compared with those of the Turks. The battles in these campaigns were fought at a frightful cost of human life on both sides, without generalship, without science, with little or no intelligence. "The generals of Catherine," says Frederick the Great, "were ignorant of castrametation and tactics; but those of the Sultan had still less knowledge; so that, to have a just idea of this contest, we must figure to ourselves a party of one-eyed people thoroughly beating a party of blind men."—*Mémoires, depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775.*

force in the Black Sea at all equal to the forcing of the narrow channels of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and foreseeing that their co-religionists, the Greeks, would rise against the Turks at the approach of the Russians, and the distribution of her manifestos, determined to send all the ships she could equip and spare out of the Baltic, to sail round the continent of Europe, and enter the Mediterranean by the Straits of Gibraltar. If England had been the ally of the Poles, if she had given the widest interpretation to her treaties with the Turks, or if she had resented the encroaching spirit of the Russians, she might have prevented the battle of Tchesmé, with the consequences that followed it; for one well-appointed squadron would have swept the fleet of Catherine from the ocean, and not have permitted a single sail to pass the Straits. But the British government of the day was disposed to assist rather than impede the Russians, and British officers supplied to Catherine the deficiencies of her own subjects as seamen. Admiral Elphinstone, Lord Howard of Effingham, and Commodore Greig led the Russian ships to victory. The triumphs obtained by British skill—which never ought to have been so employed—were disgraced by Muscovite cruelty and barbarity. The Russian fleet remained in the Archipelago good part of the year 1770, the whole of the year 1771, and part of 1772. The commerce of England, of France, of Holland, of all states trading with the Levant, was interrupted, and, for the time, ruined. France was inclined at first to prevent, and afterwards to resent, these injuries; and by giving the Russians and their rotten ships a deep grave in the Archipelago, which she might easily have done with one-half of her Toulon fleet, she might have somewhat revived the spirits of the Turks, and perhaps delayed for a short time the fate of their allies the Poles; but France was deterred by her alliance with Austria, an alliance made closer than ever in the year 1770 by the marriage of the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XVI.) with the Austrian Archduchess Maria Antoinette, by her fear of provoking England (who would have considered any demon-

stration at that time as an avowed intention of taking part in the Falkland Island quarrel and backing Spain), by the wretched state of her finances, and by the desire of Louis XV. to close his reign in peace. Meanwhile the successes of the Russians by land had continued uninterrupted; and when the Poles were at their last agony, the sultan was soliciting the mediation of Frederick of Prussia, one of the co-partitioners, to obtain a peace from Catherine. The three powers therefore proceeded to the work of dismemberment, with no other check or impediment than such as arose out of their own clashing pretensions, or the eagerness of each to get as much of the spoil as he could. The court of Vienna seemed to be the least impatient for the breaking up of an ancient kingdom, but this was probably nothing more than the effect of the proverbial slowness of that cabinet. Frederick and Catherine certainly concluded their bargain first. His Prussian majesty was exceedingly anxious to get included in his share the rich, commercial, and in every sense important, city of Dantzic. To this the tsarina would not agree, and Frederick, after many struggles, gave up the point, comforting himself with the conviction that, as he was to be the possessor of the course of the river Vistula, of its embouchure on the Baltic, and of the port of Dantzic, he must eventually obtain possession of the town also; and thus, thinking that it was not worth while to delay so important a negotiation for the sake of an advantage which was only deferred,* he, by means of Van Swieten, the Austrian envoy at Berlin, hastened the march of Austrian diplomacy, and the treaty of partition between the three powers was signed at Petersburg on the 2nd of August, 1772. It was followed, in the month of September, by declarations, manifestoes, and specifications of the territories which each of the powers was to appropriate. Prussia and Austria boldly pretended that their obsolete claims gave them a right to what they took; but Russia

* Frederick's own *Works*; *Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775*.

adopted in her manifesto a totally different tone, representing that the expenses she had incurred to keep Poland in order could only be discharged by a cession of territory. All three agreed in stating to the world that the anarchy and frequent troubles in Poland had reduced the country to its present deplorable condition, and threatened the total dissolution of the state, an event which would probably destroy the harmony and friendship at present subsisting between the great powers the neighbours of Poland. These considerations, they said, put them under a necessity of taking 'a decisive part at such a critical juncture, and compelled them with one accord to adopt such effectual measures as would re-establish tranquillity and good order. The whole of the territory taken and divided among them was almost the third part of Poland, and comprised some of the richest provinces of that kingdom.* Prussia got the whole of Pomerelia, part of Great Poland, the bishopric of Warmia, and the palatinates of Marienburg and Culm, with the complete command of the lower part of the Vistula. Russia took for her share the greater part of Lithuania, with all the wide country between the rivers Dwina and Dneister. Austria took the country along the left bank of the Vistula, from Vielicza down to the confluence of the Vistula and the river Viroz, the whole of the country called Red Russia (now Galicia), the palatinate of Belz, and a portion of the province of Volhynia. In square miles Russia got the largest portion, and Prussia the smallest, the acquisition of the latter power being only about 800 square miles: but the importance to Frederick of the country he acquired was immense, for it united the kingdom of Prussia with Pomerania and the marches of Brandenburg, which before it had separated in a most awkward manner, so that Voltaire was accustomed to compare Frederick's dominions to a pair of long gaiters. "It is extremely worthy of remark," says an English traveller who was in the country soon after this first dis-

* The territory of Poland, before the partition, was estimated at 13,500 square miles (15 to a degree):—the partitioners, in all, took from it very nearly 4000 square miles!

memberment, "that, of the three partitioning powers, Prussia was formerly in a state of vassalage to Poland; Russia once saw its capital and throne possessed by the Poles; and Austria, scarcely a century before, was indebted to a sovereign of this country for the preservation of its metropolis, and almost for its very existence."^{*} The helpless king of Poland could scarcely credit that the three powers intended this perpetual dismemberment; and when he saw the fact and recovered from his astonishment, he could do nothing but address useless protests and prayers to France, Spain, England, and all the other powers of Europe. That lively sympathy which some of these states affected a few years later for the cause of our American colonists was shown by none of them for the Poles. In the month of April, 1773, after the Polish senate had been dispersed by the united troops of the three partitioning powers, a sort of diet assembled at Warsaw to ratify all that had been done. It was surrounded during its deliberations by Russian troops, and it was dictated to by Stakelberg, Benoit, and Rewiski, the ministers of the courts of Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, who told its members plainly that any man who opposed their wishes would be considered as the enemy of his country and of the three powers; and that, if the diet or the country attempted any resistance, the armies of the three powers would at once take possession of the *whole* kingdom. As a reward for submission the promises of the manifestoes were repeated, and the diet was assured that their imperial majesties and the king of Prussia would guarantee the remainder of the kingdom. The president or marshal of the diet, Poninski, had sold himself to the allied powers, and many of the members were equally venal, or convinced of the indisputable fact that resistance would be useless. But still there remained a small enthusiastic band, chiefly from Lithuania, the country of Kosciusko, who ventured to raise their voices against the dismemberment and the outrages offered to the honour and independence of the

* Coxe. The saviour of Vienna was John Sobieski.

nation. Reyten, the leader of this weak band of patriots, was by the orders of Count Stakelberg arrested and sent out of the country to wander through Europe an exile and a maniac; and on the 17th of May the diet agreed to appoint a commission to act in conjunction with the ambassadors of the three powers, in regulating the new frontier lines and settling the changes to be introduced into the Polish system of government. Poniatowski remained without the shadow of authority—a mere king by name—the ambassadors of the three powers continuing to dictate to the permanent council as they had done to the diet. Many members of the confederates of Barr besides the unfortunate Reyten became wanderers and outcasts, with no fortune but their swords, for the property of the exiles was in nearly every case confiscated. We shall find some of the bravest of these Poles fighting under George Washington, in America; when the English colonies there raise the standard of independence.

That we may not have to return for some time to these Continental affairs we may briefly mention here the conclusion of Catherine's war with the Turks. Through the representations of Prussia and Austria she consented to negotiate with the sultan; and, after some direct intercourse on the banks of the Danube between General Romanzoff and the grand vizier, a suspension of hostilities was agreed to, an armistice was signed at Giurgevo on the 30th of May, 1772, and a congress was arranged to be held in the month of July at Boczani, in Wallachia, a few miles north of Bucharest, the capital of that province. Catherine's plenipotentiary was Count Gregory Orloff, who appeared at the congress with a pomp and magnificence that quite dazzled the Turks. He was all over a blaze of jewels; every part of his dress was studded with diamonds; and he wore upon his breast, in the midst of an infinitude of orders, the diamond-circled portrait of Catherine, his *mistress* in a double sense. One hundred and sixty domestics in splendid liveries followed this northern modern Leicester, and he was preceded by troops of hussars in gorgeous uniforms. His demands were suitable to his proud

bearing: he asked for the whole of the Crimea and all that vast tract of country on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, between the Danube and the Don; for an unlimited freedom of navigation on the Black Sea, and through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; for nearly all the fortresses that had been taken from the Turks; and for an indemnity, in money or in additional territory, for the expenses the tzarina had incurred in the war. The sultan was also called upon to acquiesce in the dismemberment of Poland, and to engage on no account whatsoever to assist the Polish exiles, of whom not a few had fled to Constantinople. Humbled as they were, the Turks would not consent to these hard terms: the congress of Boczani broke up in July; and Count Gregory hastened back to St. Petersburg, to find that during his absence Catherine had supplied his place with another lover—the still more splendid Potemkin. Negotiations were, however, soon renewed between Romanzoff and the grand vizier; a new congress was appointed to meet at Bucharest, and the armistice was extended to the month of March, 1773. In the mean time Russia had concluded a separate treaty with the Tartars of the Crimea, which gave her the absolute command of that long coveted country. The negotiations at Bucharest ran out to a great length and ended in nothing. The Turkish commissioners proposed a prolongation of them and of the armistice; but the Russians refused, and took the field in the month of March 1773. The Danube, the centre of the operations, was again tinged with blood and choked with the bodies of the dead; but fortune was not invariably on the side of the tzarina. Prince Repnin, with a considerable corps, was taken prisoner, and led in triumph to Constantinople; Romanzoff in crossing the Danube, about the middle of June, lost an immense number of men, and had the mortification of seeing the Russian horse completely defeated by the irregular Turkish cavalry. As he advanced towards Silistria, Shumla, and the Balkan Mountains, as if in the intention of forcing that famous passage, the natural difficulties of which have at all times been grossly exaggerated, he was con-

stantly assailed in front, flank, or rear, by flying troops of Spahis, who allowed him so little rest that his men could seldom take the bit out of the horses' mouths. When his van arrived at Silistria they found the approaches to that place guarded by three immense divisions or armies, under three Pashas. The Russians drove these Turks from their entrenched camps into the town ; but in so doing they sustained another prodigious loss, and must have been utterly defeated but for a rash, impatient movement of the Mussulmans. Instead of taking Silistria and forcing the defiles of Mount Hæmus, Romanzoff, after fresh losses occasioned by sorties and surprises, found himself compelled to decamp silently in the night, and to begin a most disastrous retreat to the Danube and beyond it. Although the Russian army was speedily reinforced, other disasters followed. Romanzoff was again compelled to raise the siege of Silistria by the grand vizier, who issued from his fortified camp at Shumla ; and Suwaroff and Prince Dolgarucki were repulsed at Varna after a long and bloody engagement, and then routed and driven from their entrenchment by the Bostangi Bashi from Adrianople. At the beginning of December they recrossed the Danube ; but this time their retreat was a disorderly flight, and they left all their stores and a good part of their artillery behind them.

The insurrection of the Cossacks under Pugutscheff, the rising of some of the Tartar tribes, the ravages of the plague, the apprehension of war with Sweden, and other causes, paralysed the operations of Catherine's armies on the Danube, until the month of June, 1774, when General Soltikoff fought a drawn battle with the Pasha of Rutschuk, and Kamenski and Suwaroff defeated the Reis Effendi, and took all his train of artillery, which had just been cast at Constantinople under the direction of the famous Baron de Tott. After this Romanzoff succeeded in investing the grand vizier in his fortified camp at Shumla. Upon these reverses the sultan again sued for peace ; and on the 21st of July the grand vizier and Prince Repnin signed the treaty of Kainarji, which

was ruinous and most humiliating to the Ottomans, though certainly less so than the terms would have been which Orloff had proposed at Boczani. By this treaty the Crimea was dissevered from Turkey, under the decent pretext of its remaining an independent power under its Khans; Russia obtained the absolute cession of Kilburn, Kerche, and Jenickala, and of all the district between the Bug and the Dnieper; the navigation of the Turkish seas for her merchant vessels, including the passage through the Dardanelles; with all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the most favoured nations. She restored to Turkey everything she had taken in Wallachia and Moldavia, but she kept Azof and Taganrok, the two most important ports on the Black Sea; and, beyond the wide margin of the treaty, she kept up a party among the Greeks of Bucharest and Jassy, which would at any time lay Wallachia and Moldavia open to her ambition.

The British parliament reassembled on the 26th of November (1772), when the partition of Poland was known to all the world. Yet the king's speech did not contain a single allusion to that startling innovation. As if approving all that had been done, his majesty expressed his satisfaction at seeing there was reason to hope that the war which had so long unhappily prevailed in one part of Europe was now drawing to a conclusion. The addresses of both Houses did little more than echo the Speech. There was not in either of them a single word about the dismemberment and political annihilation of Poland; not a word about the monstrous excesses in the Archipelago, not a syllable upon the dangerous encroachments and mighty pretensions of the tzarina. The Commons only thought it necessary to express their satisfaction at his majesty's having been enabled, during the course of the year, to reduce his naval establishment. The Chatham Correspondence at the time is equally silent on the subject; and neither in the letters of the great orator nor in those of Lord Shelburne and his other friends do we find a word about the partition of Poland. Mr. Burke appears to have been almost the only public

man that felt very warmly; and even he reserved his eloquence to a later period.

A.D. 1773.—The East India Company, which, ever since the year 1767, had been paying government 400,000*l.* per annum, in consideration of the extensive privileges granted by the charter, had fallen into pecuniary difficulties. The company reduced their dividend to six per cent., and applied to parliament for the loan of one million and a half to relieve them from their present necessities. It was impossible to refuse the loan without risking great distress and great discontent at home, and absolute ruin in India. On the 9th of March Lord North moved a series of resolutions, asserting the necessity of parliamentary assistance and the propriety of a loan. He fixed the sum at 1,400,000*l.*, and suggested number of regulations as proper to prevent the recurrence of similar embarrassments, and to reform all abuses in the government of India. Little foreseeing what it would lead to, he afterwards moved that the company should be permitted to export tea to America without paying any export-duty; and the company took this as an important boon, as they had at the moment upwards of seventeen millions of pounds of tea in their warehouses in England. The attacks upon Lord Clive, the real founder of our empire in the East, and other matters connected with India debated during the session, we reserve for our continuous view of East India affairs.

Mr. Charles Fox, who had returned to office in the preceding month of December, was again warmly supporting all Lord North's measures. The Earl of Chatham continued to prompt and animate Colonel Barré and the other hot leaders of the opposition in the House of Commons.

In putting an end to the session his majesty expressed his great satisfaction at the zeal, assiduity, and perseverance which had been displayed: he regretted the continuance of the war between Russia and the Porte; but made not the most distant allusion to the fate of Poland: he declared he had a close friendship both with the Czarina and the Sultan, but no engagements with

either: he applauded the effectual relief and support which had been offered to the East India Company; and stated that some progress had been made in reducing the national debt.

John Wilkes continued to give his majesty and his ministers some trouble.

Ireland continued in an uneasy state, although the Marquess of Townshend had been succeeded as lord-lieutenant by a much more popular nobleman, Lord Harcourt. But the storm raised by the Whiteboys and Hearts of Steel was not to be compared to the tempest, further west, conjured up by the sons of liberty upon the apparition of Lord North's tea, and upon his attempt at taking the payment of the colonial judges and governors out of the hands of the Houses of Assembly. While the British government argued that the salaries of the judges were inadequate to the dignity of their stations—that both judges and governors were too dependent upon the people to be able to execute justice impartially, or in any way do their duty—the Americans declared that the design of the British government was to impose its own arbitrary instruments upon them, to destroy the very essence of their charters and liberties, by making the judges and governors wholly independent of the people, and wholly dependent upon the crown. A series of protests, begun at Boston, where the Assembly of Massachusetts had returned to sit, soon ran through all the colonies; and a general corresponding committee was established, with branches and ramifications reaching to nearly every town and village in the colonies. This committee of correspondence proved the great lever of revolution. The invention of it had been attributed to Franklin; but the thing itself, the uses to which it might be applied, and its absolute necessity in a country where the population was scattered over such immense tracts of land, with mighty rivers and forests, mountains and deserts, intervening, were all so obvious that they must have struck the dullest apprehension, and the idea no doubt sprang up spontaneously in thousands of minds at once. The

effect was soon seen in a general combination of measures, a unanimity of language, and a general avoidance or persecution of all who presumed to side with the British government. The words and deeds of an individual at Boston were made known everywhere, and the Tories, as they were called, could not travel or show their faces anywhere without being reviled and threatened as enemies to their country. Liberty has its arbitrary devices as well as despotism. Descriptions of persons, like the *signalémens* on a French passport, were scattered far and wide, so that the travelling Tories found themselves recognised even where they least expected to be known.

The committee of correspondence had not long been at work when the people of Boston got up a declaration or manifesto, which treated the authority of the British parliament with very little respect. They denied the right of parliament to legislate for the colonies in any matters whatsoever; they denounced the famous declaratory act recommended by Chatham, and passed in 1766, as an arbitrary, unjust assumption of a legislative power without their consent; they charged the British ministry with designing to complete a system of slavery begun in the House of Commons, &c. Six hundred copies of this paper were printed and dispersed through the province of Massachusetts, accompanied with an address to the people, urging them "not to dose any longer, or sit supinely in indifference, whilst the iron hand of oppression was daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty." The Virginians—the most active of all in giving efficacy to the corresponding committee—did not immediately follow the example of the Bostonians in this manifesto; and as the Bostonians themselves became convinced that they had gone too far, they subsequently apologised to the British government, declaring that they had been provoked by the intemperate proceedings of their new governor, Mr. Hutchinson, but that they were in their hearts true and faithful subjects of his majesty, and thought themselves happy in their connexion with Great Britain. But just at this critical moment, when men's minds seemed wavering even in New England,

and when the southern and middle colonies were comparatively peaceable, communications were produced from Benjamin Franklin, their agent in England, conveying alarming intelligence as to the real disposition of the king, the ministry, the parliament, and the British nation at large, and inclosing letters addressed by Hutchinson and Oliver, the governor and deputy governor of Massachusetts, to the home government. These letters, which were strictly private and confidential, conveyed to the secretary of state for the colonies some unfavourable pictures of the leaders of the movement, and seemed to recommend coercive measures. As to the intention of Franklin in transmitting these letters, there can be no doubt. Nor was he disappointed as to the effect they produced upon the cooling spirits of the New Englanders. The perusal of them operated like a match thrown upon a train of gunpowder. All who saw them or heard of them felt convinced that they were to be proceeded against with fire and sword, and that their governor and lieutenant-governor were in league with the most violent part of the British cabinet, and were amusing them with gentle words and fair promises, while they were actually preparing their destruction. A committee was appointed to wait upon Governor Hutchinson, and to demand whether he acknowledged his signature, taking care the while not to trust the letters out of their own hands. Hutchinson would not be guilty of a useless falsehood; and he acknowledged his hand-writing, with which every person present was well acquainted; and hereupon the House of Assembly drew up a petition and remonstrance to the king, charging the governor with betraying his trust and slandering the people under his government, by giving private, partial, false, and malicious information; declaring him an enemy to the colony, and praying for his instant removal, together with that of Mr. Oliver, the lieutenant-governor. Copies of this petition and remonstrance, and of the letters which Franklin had sent them, were soon scattered all over the continent, from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi—from the shores of the Atlantic to the regions in the far

west. The leaders and movers found in them a text to justify extreme measures; and men who had been cool and cautious before—half longing for they knew not what, and half relying on the old connexion and the friendship and the traditions of England—now became impatient, intolerant, suspicious, hot, and altogether unruly.

Long before matters had got to this height, in the preceding year, 1772, the people of the Rhode Island had not only offered the greatest insult to the British flag, but had also *boarded, captured, and burned a British ship of war*. This was the *Gaspee* schooner, commanded by Lieutenant Dudingston, who had been exceedingly active in enforcing the laws against smuggling—a business to which the Rhode Islanders were much addicted. The sloop was boarded by a band of men in the middle of the night as she lay a-ground on a sandy bottom waiting for the return of tide. Lieutenant Dudingston was wounded in attempting to defend his quarter-deck.

It is not easy to conceive a more irritating case than this. And now, when the spirit of discontent was at its height—when the letters transmitted by Franklin had conjured up all kinds of dark visions and ungentle spirits—two ships arrived at Boston with the cargoes of tea which Lord North had allowed the East India Company to export from England duty free. Previously to their arrival meetings had been held, and mobs had been raised, to terrify the consignees into an engagement not to receive the tea.* Another meeting of the inhabitants of Boston and of all the neighbouring towns was now called, and it led to the instant and unanimous declaration that a

* The houses of the consignees had been surrounded, their windows and doors also had been broken, and they had been obliged to fly for their lives to Castle William, where the two regiments were still quartered. The governor had in vain attempted to suppress this riot, the sheriff had been grossly insulted for attempting to read a moderate proclamation, and the council had positively refused either advice or assistance.

resolution previously passed at Philadelphia, asserting, among other things, that the tea-ships were sent out for the purpose of enslaving and *poisoning* all freeborn Americans, should be adopted; and that the tea which came charged with a duty to be paid in America, should not be landed, but be sent back in the same bottoms. At the same time they held out terrible threats to the captains of the tea-ships, and to all who should dare to give them any encouragement or assistance. This was on the 30th of November of the present year, 1773. The consignees, by letter, offered to store the teas till they could receive further instructions; but this moderate proposal was rejected with anger and disdain; and a strong guard of Bostonians was sent down to Griffin's Wharf to watch the ships, and prevent a single leaf of tea from being landed. The men appointed to this duty were armed with muskets, rifles, swords, and cutlasses, and they were regularly relieved day and night. The committee of correspondence plied the pen with incessant industry, and bolder doctrines were now announced to all the towns and settlements. On the 14th of December another crowded meeting was held at the Old South Meeting House, whence orders were sent to the captains of the tea-vessels to return to England without further delay. The answer received was, that the collector could not give any clearance until the vessels had discharged their cargoes. As for the captains of the tea-ships, they could do nothing, for the governor had ordered that they should not be allowed to pass the forts without a permit signed by himself, and Admiral Montague had sent down two ships of war to guard all the passages out of the harbour. This conduct has been bitterly reprehended by writers who can discover nothing wrong on the side of government; but cooler minds will reflect that to have submitted to the commands of a popular meeting, and to have bowed to its decree that English shipping were not free to stay in an American port, and that the English flag could not cover English property in one of our colonies—a colony too which had just assured us that she

wished to remain, what she was, a dependence of the British Crown—would have been an absolute renunciation of sovereignty. To give a colour of justice or reason to their high pretensions, the Bostonians and those acting with them ought to have spoken more plainly, and not have continued to express in the same breath allegiance and independence. A few of the movers did indeed assume, at this moment, the true tone of revolution. Mr. Joseph Quincey, junior, for example, told the meeting on the 16th that this quarrel about tea must end in a contest carried on by bullets and cannon-balls. About three o'clock in the afternoon the question was put to the meeting whether they would abide by their former resolutions with respect to the tea; and it was carried in the affirmative without one dissenting voice. They then sent to desire the governor to give the ships a permit to depart. The governor replied that he could not, consistently with the laws and his duty to the king, give any pass unless the vessels were properly qualified from the Custom House. The meeting began to discuss this *horrible* answer; but the debate was presently interrupted by a person in the front gallery of the meeting-house, who was disguised as an Indian, and who uttered the war-whoop in a tone so natural that he might have been taken for a real savage. This yell was succeeded by the general cry of "A mob! a mob!" Some cautious Bostonians then moved that the meeting should be dissolved; and it was dissolved accordingly, before any overt act was committed. By this time it was six o'clock at night and quite dark. Many of the people ran at once from the Old Meeting House to Griffin's Wharf, where the tea-ships were lying, and where they were met by a number of armed men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, and by a number of shippers, sailors, boatmen, and men of colour, which latter class had not forgotten the fate of Crispus Attucks. In overwhelming force these rioters and sham Indians boarded the ships, broke bulk, hoisted out the chests, and discharged their contents into the sea with much joy and jubilation. The "sons of liberty" then returned quietly to their homes,

having destroyed property to the amount of many thousands of pounds.*

A.D. 1774.—Although the British parliament was assembled much later than usual, it met before this last startling intelligence from Boston was received. The first parliamentary struggle took place on the ministerial motion for 20,000 seamen, as in the preceding year. The Opposition said it was absurd to talk of peace and yet keep up such an establishment; and they called upon ministers to answer in what manner they had disposed of the supplies voted for the navy from the year 1763. The motion, however, was carried without a division—"a division," says Burke, "not having been usual for several years upon a matter of supplies." Alderman Sawbridge made his annual motion for shortening the duration of parliaments; but he did not succeed in getting up a debate, and, the question being called for, the motion was rejected by a majority of 221 against 94. Experience seemed to have proved the excellence of George Grenville's controverted election act; and it was now rendered perpetual. Lord North was soon supported in the House by the usual large majority. This effect was partly produced by the strong national resentment against the Americans for their exploits at Boston and Rhode Island.

Government must have received the information some weeks before; but it was not until the 7th of March that the king sent a message to both Houses, acquainting them with all the practices carried on in the colonies, and particularly with the outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston. This message was accompanied with a mass of papers, consisting of letters from Governor Hutchinson, Admiral Montague, the consignees of the tea, despatches from governors and officers in other colonies, and a variety of extracts and other documents, the

* Dr. Gordon, *History of the American Revolution*.—Stedman, *History of the American War*.—Documents in Almon's *Remembrancer*.—Annual Register.—Gentleman's Magazine.

most numerous and inflammable American manifestos, hand-bills, pamphlets, and fugitive pieces. These papers made the House of Commons as hot as Faneuil Hall, or the old Meeting House at Boston. Yet, if less precipitancy would have become them more, it is quite certain, from the temper the Americans were in, that moderation would have been interpreted into a confession of weakness and fear. A motion was made for an address to the throne, "to return thanks for the message, and the gracious communication of the American papers, with an assurance that they would not fail to exert every means in their power, of effectually providing for objects so important to the general welfare as maintaining the due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain." This motion produced a warm debate. The Opposition, however, admitted that the conduct of the Bostonians and Rhode Islanders was exasperating in an extreme degree, and disclaimed all intention of impeding the measures of government in a matter of such high importance. Ministers urged that it was worse than useless to rake up the past; and that now the great points of the question might be fairly canvassed. They asked whether America was or was not to be any longer dependent on this country?—how far?—in what degree?—in what manner? *It might be a question whether the colonies should not be given up*; but, if this question should be decided in the negative, then it would be necessary to examine in what manner their subordination should be preserved, and the authority of the king and parliament of Great Britain enforced. The immense majority of the House agreed in condemning all retrospect, and the address was carried without a division. Before these proceedings, and even before the arrival of the intelligence of the tea riot, Doctor Franklin, the agent for the colony or house of representatives of Massachusetts, had met with a severe castigation from the sharp tongue of a crown lawyer, for his conduct in the affair of the letters. That affair, moreover, had led to bloodshed in England, for a duel had been fought in Hyde Park, between Mr. Whately,

banker in Lombard-street, and brother to Mr. Thomas Whately, late secretary to the treasury, and member for Castle Rising, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Temple, lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire; and the unfortunate banker had been dangerously wounded. Upon this event, which caused considerable excitement, Franklin wrote and published a letter, declaring that neither Mr. Whately nor the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire had anything to do with the mischievous letters, and that both of them were totally ignorant and innocent of that transaction. "I think it incumbent on me," wrote Franklin, "to declare, for the prevention of further mischief, that I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question. Mr. Whately could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and, for the same reason, they could not have been taken from him by Mr. Temple. They were not of the nature of *private letters between friends*; they were written by public officers to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were, therefore, handed to other public persons, who might be influenced by them to produce those measures: their tendency was to incense the mother-country against her colonies, and, by the steps recommended, to widen the breach, which they effected. The chief caution expressed with regard to privacy was, to keep their contents from the colony agents, who, the writers apprehended, might return them, or copies of them, to America. That apprehension was, it seems, well-founded; for the first agent who laid his hands on them thought it his duty to transmit them to his constituents."* On Saturday, the 29th of January,

* This letter was signed "B. Franklin, agent for the house of representatives of Massachusetts Bay," and was dated Craven-street, December 25th, 1773. As a matter of course, it left in mystery the means by which the philosopher had got possession of the letters. But the secret has since transpired. "It is only within these seven years," says the writer of the *History of the American Revolution*, published

Franklin, with Mr. Dunning as counsel to speak to the Bostonian petition for the removal of the governor and lieutenant-governor,* appeared before the privy council, where thirty-five lords were assembled, besides those in office. Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, attended as counsel for the governor. Mr. Dunning having asked, on the part of his clients, the reason of being ordered to attend, and having spoken shortly on the general object of the petition, was replied to by Wedderburn, whose naturally sharp tongue was made sharper on this occasion by his friendship and sympathy for Mr. Whately, the banker, who was at that moment lying between life and death.† After entering largely into the constitution and temper of the province of Massachusetts, he concluded with a violent invective against the double dealing and malice of Franklin. It concluded with this indignant burst of feeling:—"Amidst tranquil events, here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's 'Revenge'—

—————Know, then, 't was I.

I forged the letter—I dispos'd the picture—

I hated—I despis'd—and I destroy!

"I ask, my lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed to the bloody African is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?" Whatever may have been the effect upon the members of the council,

by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in 1830, "that it has been ascertained that Governor Hutchinson's letters were put into Franklin's hands by a Dr. Williamson, who, without any suggestion on his part, had procured them by stratagem from the office where they had been deposited. This curious fact is stated, with many particulars, in a Memoir of Dr. Williamson, by Dr. Hosack, of New York."

* The petition got up in consequence of the letters he had transmitted.

† Letter of the Earl of Shelburne to Chatham, in Chat. Corres.

the invective sank deep into the soul of Franklin. It is said that he controlled his feelings in that presence, standing in a corner of the room without the least apparent emotion; but it is added, that, when he got back to his lodgings, he took off the suit of clothes he had worn, and vowed he would never wear it again until he should sign the degradation of England and the independence of America. Our highest estimation of the philosopher's genius and address is by no means incompatible with the belief, that he was in more respects than one a *cunning man*, and a total stranger to some of those high and delicate notions which we, improperly, call *chivalrous*. We believe that by nature, by habit, by the whole course of his life, Franklin was disposed to be a democratic republican; and that, from the very beginning of the troubles, he aimed at nothing short of revolution, independence, and the establishment of a commonwealth in his native country. These aspirations in themselves might be honest, laudable, noble; but they cannot justify the employment of base means, or excuse the duplicity, the mental reservation, and the cajolery (practised chiefly to keep the opposition party on their side) which Franklin and his countrymen persisted in so long. It is said that that Whig, the Earl of Shelburne, saw through Franklin's mask as early as the year 1766, when the British government was adopting measures of conciliation, and abolishing the Stamp Act; and that his lordship told the philosopher, that what he and the Americans wanted was a total independence; to which Franklin replied, that his lordship was much mistaken—that all they wanted was a total exemption from taxation by the British parliament.* Yet, according to Adam Smith, Franklin said, in the presence of a particular friend of his, and with much triumph, "that, whatever measures Great Britain might choose to pursue with regard to her colonies, whether mild or vigorous, they would equally tend to bring about that great and desirable event, the entire independence of America."† Franklin, it is added, never

* Gordon, Hist. Amer. Rev.

† Letter from Dr. Adam Smith, author of the Wealth of

made any secret of this wish and intention when among private friends ; and the letters which he addressed from London to private friends and to public bodies in America were generally charged with matter to awaken suspicion, to wound pride, and to excite a determined spirit of resistance. And while he was writing these letters he was telling his best advocates, the leaders of the opposition in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, that the wish nearest to his heart, and to the hearts of all honest Americans, was a continuance of the connexion with the dear old mother-country.

Hitherto Franklin had been allowed to retain his profitable place of postmaster-general for America ; but three days after Wedderburn's chastisement in the council he was dismissed by letter from that office. Though far too wise to be a miser or a niggard, we know that the philosopher was not indifferent to money :—indeed, setting aside his discoveries in natural science, the best or most prominent part of his philosophy is the art of making money or thriving in the world ; his morality is essentially a calculation—a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence—a dry and hard utilitarianism, which, assisted no doubt by many local, natural, and inevitable circumstances, is supposed by some to have left too deep an imprint on the minds of his countrymen, who have grown up under lessons of his teaching and institutions of his forming. Therefore we think we do not err in surmising that, if Wedderburn's invective was a cap-full of wind, the deprivation of this profitable place was a steady breeze to fill his sail and propel him on his bold and most hazardous voyage ; the result of which, after all, must have been far different, at least at the time, from what it was, if it had not been for a most marvellous and incredible combination of accident, craft, imbecility, and madness.

Following up the warm and almost unopposed address on American affairs, Lord North, on Monday, the 14th of March, moved for leave to bring in a bill to remove the

Nations, &c., to Doctor Roebuck of Birmingham : printed in the second number of the *Verulam*, London, 1827.

customs, courts of justice, and all government offices, from Boston to New Salem—"a step," says Gibbon, "so detrimental to the former town as must soon reduce it to our own terms, and yet of so mild an appearance that it was agreed to without a division, and almost without a debate."* It encountered, indeed, scarcely more opposition than the address had done: on its first introduction it was received with very general applause, and it was pushed on with such vigour that it did not remain long in that House, and on the 28th of March was passed by the Lords, who had some lively conversation upon it, but no debate.† The Boston Port Bill, as it was called, was generally considered not only just but lenient. On the 31st of March the bill received the royal assent, and the trade of Boston was annihilated. Lord North's tone was moderate. Chatham spoke favourably of it, and of the candid and right principles of Lord Dartmouth, the present secretary for American affairs.‡ Afterwards, on the 19th of April, Mr. Rose Fuller, in the Commons, moved that the House should that day se'ennight resolve itself into a committee for taking into consideration the question of a total repeal of the unfortunate tea-duty. Ministers, however, maintained that this was not the proper

* Letter to Lord Sheffield.

† Such is the account given by Burke in the Annual Register.

‡ In the latter part of the year 1772, some important changes had been made in the ministry. The Earl of Hillsborough resigned his post of head of the board of trade, and secretary of state for the colonies, and was succeeded, in both his places, by the Earl of Dartmouth, who was generally understood to be more moderate, or more favourable to the Americans. Franklin considered it a victory to have got rid of Hillsborough, and hoped, from the regard Lord Dartmouth had always expressed for him, to be able to obtain more favour for the colonies. At the same time Viscount Townshend was recalled from Ireland and made master-general of the ordnance; and Earl Harcourt was sent over as lord-lieutenant. Sir Jeffry Amherst was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance in lieu of General Conway, who was made governor of Jersey.

time for such a measure, arguing that repeal at this moment would show such a degree of wavering and inconsistency as would defeat the good effects of the vigorous plan which had been at length adopted; and the motion was negatived. Ministers remembered, and it was difficult for any one else to forget, that concession on this side of the water had not in one single instance been met with a return of kindness and good will on the other. Moreover, whatever might be thought of internal taxation for America, the great body of parliament and of the nation, including the most enlightened, the most liberal, the best men then living in England, certainly entertained the opinion that Great Britain had the right to tax those colonies externally, in the way of duties on merchandise, port duties, &c. And this had been asserted and maintained by successive ministers—by Charles Townshend, by George Grenville, by the Marquess of Rockingham, and by none more imperiously than by Chatham himself. Writers of the most opposite views and character, men who differed on nearly every other subject—Gibbon, Burke, Hume, Doctor Johnson, Adam Smith, and Soame Jenyns—had all agreed on this one point.

On the 28th of March, while the Boston Port Bill was before the Lords, Lord North, in a committee of the whole House, brought in a bill, "For the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay." The purport of this bill was to alter the constitution of that province, as it stood upon the charter of William III.; to do away with some of those popular elections which decided everything in that colony; to take the executive power out of the hands of the democratic party, and to vest the nomination of the members of the council, of the judges, and of magistrates of all kinds, including the sheriffs, in the crown, and in some cases in the king's governor. In support of the bill, Lord North said that the province of Massachusetts Bay had been turbulent beyond bearing, and had set an ill example to all the colonies; that an executive power was wholly wanting in that province, where the force of the civil power consisted solely in the *posse comi-*

status, that is to say, in the very people who committed the riots. He asked, if the democratic party showed a contempt of the laws, how any governor was to enforce them? He urged that it was in vain making laws and regulations here in England, when there were none found to execute them in America: but he hoped that the present bill would create an executive power and give strength and spirit to the civil magistracy. He professed himself open to discussion and to a change of opinion and of the provisions of the bill whenever it might be proved erroneous. A much warmer debate ensued, and the opposition was much more active and united than upon the Boston Port Bill. Lord North was true to his promise, and the bill was considerably altered. As it stood when presented anew after the Easter holidays, the council of Massachusetts Bay was put on the same footing as the councils of the other colonies; the nomination was vested in the crown, and they were to have no negative voice, and were not to appoint, as hitherto, the judicial officers of the province. The mode of choosing juries was also altered, and the continual assemblies and town meetings held in Boston were no longer to be convened without the consent of the governor, unless for the annual election of certain officers. The Opposition condemned the whole bill as arbitrary and tyrannical, and lauded to the skies the democratic institutions of the province. They showed that the Bostonians and their neighbours had flourished for nearly fourscore years under that democratic charter; but what they neither showed nor attempted to show *was*, how those institutions could possibly harmonise with the different system of the mother-country. The charter might suit the colony if it ceased to be a colony and became an independent state; but neither Dowdeswell nor Sir George Saville, who were warmest in defence of the charter, approved of or contemplated independence and disseverance. There was, we repeat, an utter incompatibility between the old charter and a dependence on a constitutional monarchy—between the spirit of New England liberty and the spirit of liberty as trained

and moderated in old England. In the course of the debates upon the bill much eloquence was displayed, and many predictions were uttered, and by being uttered in that place and in that manner these predictions tended to their own fulfilment. General Conway could see nothing but increased exasperation, misfortune, and ruin from the adoption of these measures; and he and others asked for more time to consider what was best to be done, and what crimes and errors the New Englanders had really been guilty of. Replying to this delaying proposition, Lord North said, with more heat than was usual with him, "I will tell you what the Americans have done: they have tarred and feathered the officers and subjects of Great Britain; they have plundered our merchants, burnt our ships, denied all obedience to our laws and authority! Our conduct has been clement and long-forbearing, but now it is incumbent to take a different course. Whatever may be the consequence, we must risk something, or all is over." Sir Richard Sutton concluded the present debate, which was on the second reading of the bill, by stating broadly and truly that the Americans, though they did not confess it, were aiming at total independence, and would never again submit quietly to English laws and regulations of trade. "If," said he, "you ask an American who is his master, he will tell you he has none, nor any governor but Jesus Christ." And such, at least, was the language of the New Englanders. On the third reading, which took place on the 2nd of May, Sir William Meredith, who had carried Whig principles as far as any man,* insisted that the parliament of Great Britain had an indisputable right to lay duties upon the Americans, and to tax them externally. Thurlow, the attorney-general, maintained that, while the sovereignty over the colonies remained in this country, the right of taxing was not, and never could be, surrendered. Lord North denied that his bill would destroy any civil rights, or establish anything like

* It is to be noted, however, that Sir William had just been made comptroller of his majesty's household, and sworn of his majesty's privy council.

a military government: nothing was altered, he said, except the civil government. Mr. Burke spoke with his usual warmth and eloquence against the bill; and now he was joined, as by a personal friend and pupil, by Mr. Charles Fox, who had again disagreed with his superiors in the cabinet, and was dismissed by them just as his abilities were ripening and becoming of value. He had spoken and voted against the Boston Port Act, and he now spoke and voted against this bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay. Ministers seem scarcely to have been aware of his power and eloquence until they had lost him past recovery.* The bill was, however, passed by the overwhelming majority of 239 against 64. In the Upper House it was criticised and opposed, and vehemently denounced by a few lords; but there too it was carried by a great majority.

The absence of the orator was sensibly felt on this occasion; but Chatham, complaining of his gout, kept away at Burton Pynsent, writing to his friend Shelburne that England was hurrying on to perdition, and that he knew not how to prevent it. But efforts were repeated to draw him from his present retreat, and even ministers were said to be anxious to have his opinion on American affairs. The debate on a bill for the quartering and better regulating the troops in the colonies, as a compliment to Lord Chatham, was put off till the 25th, and then further postponed till the 27th, in order that, if he chose to deliver his opinion, he might have the opportunity of so doing. On the latter evening the great orator was in his place, and in spite of the gout and the other infirmities he had been complaining of, he made a very long speech. He said that the whole history of the American

* In the preceding month of December Charles Fox was put somewhat at his ease in money matters, by his father, Lord Holland, paying his debts, which amounted to 140,000*l.*! — *Gibbon, Letters to Lord Sheffield*. Two or three weeks before the third reading of the Boston Port Bill—on which occasion Fox appeared for the first time in decided opposition—he had been turned out of his place in a very uncere-
monious manner.

people, their descent, and the character and disposition they inherited from their English ancestors, all gave ground for believing that they would never submit to slavish and tyrannical principles. As was the mother, such were her children. He assumed, as a positive fact, what was doubted by nearly every man who had thought upon the subject, and what could be positively disproved by American documents, that the colonies thought not of prosecuting the quarrel; that they were in an excess of gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act, and that, but for the tea-tax, which he believed had driven them to despair, we should never more have heard of their insubordination and violence. He charged Lord North and his colleagues with having purposely irritated them into their late violent deeds—"purposely to be revenged on them for the victory the Americans had gained by the repeal of the Stamp Act, a measure in which they seemingly acquiesced, but to which at the bottom they were real enemies." He seemed to forget that his own high declaratory act had inflamed the passions of the colonists after the repeal of the Stamp Act; and the Americans, too, seem to have been willing to forget that fact in the praises he lavished upon them, and the vast use his opposition indisputably was of to their cause; though Chatham, as a minister, would never have granted the objects which they, or their leaders at least, now aimed at. The bill which Chatham was opposing was, nevertheless, passed by a majority of 57 against 16.

By this time the session was drawing near to the usual period of recess; many members, fatigued with the long discussions on American affairs, had retired into the country, and both Houses were thinner than ever. Yet, under these circumstances, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, "For making more effectual provisions for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America." The principal objects of this bill were to ascertain the limits of that province, which were extended far beyond what had been settled as such by the king's proclamation of 1763; to form a legislative

council for all the affairs of that province, *except taxation*, which council should be appointed and be removable by the crown, and in which his majesty's Canadian Roman Catholic subjects should be entitled to a place; to establish the old French laws to which the Canadians had been accustomed, including trial without jury, in all civil cases, and the English laws, with trial by jury in all criminal cases; and to secure to the Roman Catholic clergy, except the regulars (or members of the religious orders) the legal enjoyment of their lands and of their tithes in their own communities, or from all who professed the Roman Catholic religion. The bill passed through the Lords with little or no observation; but when it came down to the Commons it met with a very different reception, and gave rise to debates as passionate as any that had taken place during this session.

Various alterations, which were not all *amendments*, though so called in parliamentary language, were hurriedly made in the bill which had been framed in a hurry. In drawing the boundary-line between Canada and the State of New York, geographical errors were committed which have since given rise to almost interminable disputes between the United States and the government of Great Britain. To settle this boundary for the puzzled and perplexed House of Commons, Burke and three other members, ran up-stairs with defective maps and charts, and, in the course of half an hour, drew the line which was ultimately adopted. Yet the Canada Bill contained much that was good, wise, and tolerant. It gave to the French-descended Canadians the essential parts of a free constitution, with far more liberty than they had ever enjoyed, or aspired to, under the dominion of France; it made a liberal provision for their Catholic clergy; and the bill certainly had the effect of conciliating the Canadians, who, though of so different a race, and so recently conquered, remained attached to the British crown, when its British-descended colonists rebelled against it. Most of the Opposition party spoke vehemently against the concessions to the Catholics, and Charles Fox accused Lord North of

designs hostile to the Protestant Church. Burke was now, and ever since the year 1771 had been, agent to the State of New York, with emoluments amounting to about 700*l.* per annum. On the 22nd of June, the Canada Bill received the royal assent, the corporation of London having ineffectually petitioned the king against it. On the same day his majesty prorogued parliament, expressing the confident hope that the bill would produce the happiest effects in Canada. It seemed to be generally understood that this parliament would not meet again; but its dissolution was not pronounced till more than three months after the prorogation. Even Chatham allowed that Lord North was more firmly fixed in power than ever. The great orator could not forget his old enmity and rivalry to the House of Fox, and was not at all inclined to give Charles Fox any great credit for sincerity or steadiness in politics.

While the British parliament were voting strong bills, the Bostonians and people of Massachusetts Bay were continuing their strong measures and acts of defiance. They insisted upon the right of dismissing every judge that owed his appointment to, or received his salary through, the British government. In the month of March—that is to say, *before* the arrival of any of the *coercive bills*—the leaders of the movement party were proclaiming that America must be made wholly independent of Great Britain, and separated from her. At the head of these clamorous men was Mr. Samuel Adams, whose patriotism had not yet been able to efface certain very serious stains from his escutcheon. Adams had been a notorious defaulter as a collector of local taxes. In the mild language of Dr. Gordon, whose sympathies were all with the man or his cause,—“At one time his influence was small, owing to *defects in pecuniary matters*, especially as collector of the taxes for Boston, in which office he served for years. He was accountable to the town for between 1000*l.* and 2000*l.*; but a great part of it had never been gathered His necessities, probably (for he appears to be addicted to no extravagances), urged him to supply himself, time after

time, from the cash in hand, without attending to the accumulation of the balance against him, till called upon to settle." It is quite clear, from his own limping words, that this dissenting preacher is trying to make the very best of a very bad cause. People who spoke more plainly, and who did not share in his partialities, set down Samuel Adams, as a man so discredited by many money transactions, and so involved in debt and lawsuits as to have no hope for himself except in a revolution. He had said long before, in small confidential companies, what he now repeated more publicly—"This country shall be independent, and we will be satisfied with nothing short of it." The name of Franklin was repeated with more admiration and enthusiasm than ever, and before their dissolution the assembly resolved to continue him their agent in England, while governor Hutchinson refused to ratify his appointment, or sanction their act for paying Franklin his salary.

On the 13th of May, only a few days after the reception of the Boston Port Bill, General Gage, the new governor, landed on the Long Wharf, with part of his family and staff, but without any troops. He was not, like Hutchinson, a native of the province; but he was married to an American lady, and from long residence had many friends in the colony. He was complimented on his arrival by the council, the magistrates, and others, and afterwards entertained at a public dinner. That night Hutchinson was burnt in effigy. The next day a numerous town meeting took into consideration the Port Bill, and resolved, "That it is the opinion of this town, that if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from, and exportation to, Great Britain, and every part of the West Indies, till the act be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties; and that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act exceed all our powers of expression: we, therefore, leave it to the just censure of others, and appeal to God and the world." The obnoxious act was instantly printed and circulated in innumerable copies throughout the colonies. In some

provinces the copy of the act was accompanied with comments, and in many places it was printed with a black border, and cried about under the title of "A barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder."*

But of all the colonists the Virginians were the most ardent and the most active, the democratic party taking the lead and out-voting or out-jockeying the aristocratic party. When the Boston Port Bill and the letters and comments upon it reached Virginia the assembly was in session; but Mr. Jefferson, Patrick Henry, the two Lees, and three or four other young members, no longer willing to submit the direction of affairs to the old members, but determining on a bolder course, assembled in the council-chamber to consult by themselves what ought to be done.

These hot spirits hit upon a measure which would better have suited the Presbyterian or Puritanical Bostonians and New Englanders. Proceeding from the New Englanders it might have carried the character at least of sincerity and devoutness; but from the Virginians it looked like the merest state trick. The measure, in which there was no originality, was fished out of that voluminous collection which we have so often quoted from in describing the great civil war between the English parliament and Charles I. "With the help of Rushworth," says Jefferson himself, "whom we rummaged for the revolutionary precedents and forms of the Puritans of that day, we cooked up a resolution—somewhat modernising their phrases—for appointing the 1st day of June, on which the Port Bill was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of king and parliament to moderation and justice."† As the students of Rushworth and revolutionary precedents were neither venerable nor devout, they waited the next morning on Robert Carter Nicholas, with a request that he would

* Gordon.—Papers in Almon's Remembrancer.

† Life of Thomas Jefferson, by Professor Tucker, 2 vols 8vo., Lond., 1837.

make the motion in the assembly, as his age and religious character were considered in keeping with its sentiments, and likely to give it weight. Nicholas accepted the mission, and proposed the day of fasting and prayer, which passed without opposition. But on the following day, May the 25th, Lord Dunmore, the governor of the province, dissolved the assembly, assigning as a reason the vote which had been entered. The members then repaired to the Raleigh Tavern, and agreed to articles of association, in which they pronounced the Boston Port Bill to be the result of a determined system, formed for the purpose of reducing the inhabitants of British America to slavery. They declared that tea ought not to be used by any well-wisher to constitutional liberty; that, from the course pursued by the East India Company in favour of arbitrary taxation, the people ought not to purchase any of their commodities, except saltpetre and spices, until their grievances should be redressed; and that an attack on one of their sister colonies was an attack upon all, threatening ruin to all, unless it was resisted by their united councils. They therefore further recommended to the committee of correspondence to communicate with all the other committees "on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies of British America, *to meet in general congress*, at such place annually, as should be thought most convenient, to deliberate on the measures required by their common interests." This was a great step in the revolutionary march, and those who had made it were not likely to halt there. They resolved to proceed forthwith to the formation of a congress, agreeing that the members of assembly who should be elected under the new writs then issuing should meet in convention, at Williamsburgh, on the 1st of August following, for the purpose of appointing delegates to sit in congress. They then separated and went to their several homes, to invite the clergy to meet assemblies of the people on the 1st of June, and make a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, in spite of the governor. It appears that the majority of the Virginian clergy consented to this course, and made fervid appeals from the pulpit.

thus co-operating powerfully in the great work. The effect was irresistible, and was likened by Jefferson to a shock of electricity.*

In the meanwhile the assembly of Massachusetts Bay had met for the last time at Boston on the 25th of May. General Gage, as the new governor, laid before them some common business of the province, and then announced the painful necessity he lay under of removing them, the courts, and all public offices to Salem, by the 1st of June, in conformity with the recent acts of parliament. They petitioned him to set apart a day for fasting, but he refused, and, to avoid discussion, adjourned them to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. They met on the day and at the place appointed, and named a committee to consider and report the state of the province. Mr. Samuel Adams, seeing that some of the committee were for pursuing mild and conciliatory measures, conferred with Mr. Warren upon the necessity of getting up more spirit. Warren engaged to keep the committee in play, while Adams should go and make a *caucus*—by which, in Bostonian language, was meant a political meeting and consultation carried on in secret. Adams succeeded, in the course of three or four days, in winning over and concerting measures with more than thirty members; the friends of government knowing nothing of the matter. He then announced to his party that they were sure of carrying their scheme by a sufficient majority. This scheme was completed, their resolutions were all drawn up, and, on the 17th, they resolved to proceed to business, hoping to finish before the governor could interfere with a prorogation or a dissolution. On that day they ordered the door-keeper to let no one whatsoever in, and to permit no one to go out. Yet, when they opened the business, a member favourable to government contrived to get out and to give information of what was doing within. A messenger was instantly despatched to General Gage, who sent his secretary to dissolve them. The secretary found the door fastened: he

* Tucker, Life of Jefferson.

knocked for entrance, but was told that the House was engaged upon very important business and could not admit him until it was over. The secretary then read the proclamation of dissolution upon the stairs leading to the chamber, in the hearing of several members and others, all shut out of the house. But by this time those within had done all they wanted to do: they had appointed Samuel Adams, John Adams, and three others, as their committee, to meet other provincial committees to be convened on the 1st of September at Philadelphia; they had voted them 500*l.*; had chosen a treasurer, and having no money in hand, had recommended the several towns and districts to raise the said sum by equitable proportions according to the last provincial tax—a recommendation which is said to have had, all through the province, the force of a law. They then separated.*

In rapid succession most of the colonies agreed to the expediency of the general congress, and pressed on the operations of the corresponding committees. After some difficulties, occasioned by the numerous friends of government and families of old standing and large property in that province, a meeting of the citizens of New York was called for the purpose of consulting on measures proper to be pursued in this emergency. A committee of fifty was appointed to correspond with the sister colonies "on all matters of moment." John Jay, who is esteemed one of the fathers of the American revolution, was a member of this committee, as also of a sub-committee appointed to prepare answers to whatever letters might be received. Both committees were soon earnestly and constantly at work.†

On the 1st of June, as the clock struck twelve, the custom-house at Boston had been shut up, and all lawful business had ceased in that port and town. But the people of Salem said they disdained to profit by the injury and losses of their Bostonian brethren; and, as early

* Gordon.

† The Life of John Jay, with Selections from his Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers; by his son, William Jay.

as the 18th of June, before any business could be well begun, the merchants and freeholders of Salem presented an address to Governor Gage, severely censuring the measures which had been adopted, commiserating the people of Boston, and declining to avail themselves of the advantages tendered by the Boston Port Bill.

At every move the Americans read Rushworth. The present document might have been taken for a transcript out of his big book. It declared that the compact had been adopted as the sole means of avoiding the horrors of slavery, or the carnage and desolation of civil war; and the parties subscribing, in the presence of God, solemnly and in good faith covenanted to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain till the Boston Port Bill should be repealed and the charter restored; not to purchase or consume any goods or merchandise from Great Britain after the last day of August; and to have no dealings with persons capable of breaking this sacred agreement, but to publish their names as enemies to their country, and men excommunicated, or cut off from all social intercourse.* Never did league and covenant spread more rapidly among the fiery and oppressed Presbyterians, Covenanters, or Cameronians of Scotland; and it was all in vain that Governor Gage issued a proclamation forbidding such unlawful and traitorous combinations. Those who were not led by free will were impelled by their fears; and in most places it seemed more dangerous to oppose the popular will than to risk a struggle in arms with the mother-country; or, at the least, that the one danger was far more immediate and more direct in its operation than the other.†

* The invitations to take this league and covenant were generally expressed in pretty strong terms. In many places the language was "JOIN OR DIE."

† A few moderate persons were, however, courageous enough to offer some resistance to the headlong will of the people, and some slight encouragement to Gage and government. An address was signed by 120 gentlemen and merchants of Boston, expressive of their regret at the lawless violence of their fellow-townsmen. The justices of the

When all was sullen and threatening in Boston General Gage ordered thither some regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery, who were all encamped on the common, and who were soon reinforced by fresh troops from Great Britain and Ireland. The men had not been there many days ere desertion began to prevail to an alarming extent. The raw recruits, more particularly, were spirited away by gills of ardent spirits in hand, and high promises in the bush. Gage first issued a proclamation offering pardon to such deserters as should return to their duty; and he next placed a strong guard at Boston Neck, a narrow isthmus which connects the town with the country. The instant this indispensable guard was placed a cry was raised that Gage intended to cut off all communications; to blockade the town, and to compel the inhabitants, by famine, to submit to government. Near and far the exciting cry produced its effect, and former animosities or antipathies between the New Englanders and the men of the more southern provinces were all forgotten in the deep sympathy for the *martyrdom* of the Bostonians, who were encouraged to brave the fictitious doom by assurances that the whole American world had their eyes upon them. All justice, or, at the very least, all law, was at an end in that province; for the juries would not serve under the new judges, nor would the summoning officers call them.

county of Plymouth, assembled in general session, expressed their serious concern at seeing the inhabitants of some towns influenced by certain persons calling themselves Committees of Correspondence, and encouraged by some whose business was to preach the Gospel of Christ, entering into a league calculated to exasperate the parent-country and interrupt and destroy the harmony of society. Attempts were made by some of the most wealthy people of Boston to raise money to pay the East India Company for the tea which had been destroyed. But all these demonstrations and attempts did far more harm than good, their only effect being to strengthen the cherished conviction of the English court and government that the most respectable people in the colonies were wholly averse to revolution.

Except on the ground covered by the British troops there was no peace or rest for any man that dared to differ with the popular majority. Few of the people of this part of America were altogether unarmed, and weapons had been provided for such as were too poor to purchase them. "Nothing," says Gordon, "is to be seen or heard of except the purchasing of arms and ammunition, the casting of balls, and the making of all those preparations which testify the most immediate danger and determined resistance." Under these circumstances Gage began really to fortify Boston Neck; and he seized and removed to head-quarters all the gunpowder and other military stores that were deposited at Charlestown, Cambridge, and some other places.

The people rose in arms and again threatened to attack the troops. They did not, however, come to blows; but they threw every possible obstruction in the way of the officers who were employed in erecting the works on the Neck, burning the materials by night, sinking boats laden with bricks, and overturning the waggons that were carrying the timber. A meeting of delegates from all the neighbouring towns was called at the beginning of September, and was held in spite of the governor's proclamation. This assemblage resolved:—That no obedience was due to any part of the late acts of parliament, which ought to be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration:—That no taxes should be paid to government:—That the persons who had accepted seats in the council by virtue of a *mandamus* from the king, had acted in direct violation of the duty they owed to their country; and that all of them who did not resign before the 20th of September should be considered as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to their country:—*That the late act, establishing the Roman Catholic religion in Quebec, was dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant religion, and to the rights and liberties of all America*:—That, whereas their enemies had flattered themselves that they should make an easy prey of a numerous, brave people, from the notion that they were unacquainted with military discipline, such

persons should be elected in each town as militia officers as were judged to be of good capacity, and inflexible friends to the rights of the people; while the inhabitants of the towns should use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war, and for that purpose appear under arms at least once every week, &c., &c.*

Before this time the men of Virginia had been going so fast as almost to intimate that they intended leaving the men of Massachusetts Bay behind them as sluggards and loiterers on the road of revolution and independence. Jefferson and the other members of the Virginia Convention met, as appointed, on the 1st of August, to agree as to instructions for the delegates to be sent to the general congress. Jefferson had drawn up a terrible paper; but, falling sick, he left it to be presented by Peyton Randolph. This document was thought too bold for the present state of things; but it was nevertheless printed and widely circulated in the form of a pamphlet, under the title of 'A Summary View of the Rights of British America.' In some respects it was a production as crude as it was violent; but in other respects it was an ingenious exposition of the evils attending colonial dependence on a country jealous of her manufacturing and commercial supremacy; as when it stated that by several acts of parliament America was prohibited from selling to or buying from any other country than Great Britain, and that, in the same spirit of monopoly, an American was forbidden to make a hat for himself of the fur he had taken perhaps on his own soil, or to manufacture the iron which he himself had made from the ore dug out of American earth. The simple amount of the whole was that the Virginians should claim an absolute independence and sovereignty. But, as Jefferson, the author of the document, himself confessed at a later period, "*the leap he thus proposed was too long, as yet, for the mass of his fellow-citizens.*"†

* Gordon.—Papers in Almon's Remembrancer.

† Tucker's Life of Jefferson.

As is avowed by American writers, this reticence proceeded principally, if not entirely, from the fear of alarming and offending the opposition in the British parliament, and those who were called the friends of America in England. Another set of instructions was therefore prepared far more moderate than those drawn up by Jefferson, yet still strong enough to have convinced even the purblind that the object of its authors was nothing less than independence. The colony was deeply in debt to the mother-country; there was scarcely a planter or slaveholder there, great or small, royalist or revolutionist, but was debtor to his merchants and agents in England for advances made on tobacco and other produce not yet delivered, nor even grown—these Virginia planters having been for the most part men of thoughtless and expensive habits, fond of putting four or six horses to their coaches, in rude imitation of the style of the nobility and moneyed aristocracy of the mother-country; and an earnest desire was now asserted to discharge their debts, and an order was now passed that exportations to Great Britain should not be stopped till the 10th of August in the succeeding year (1775). But in all other respects the Virginians instructed their deputies at congress to co-operate cordially with Massachusetts Bay and the other colonies that should send delegates to the congress. The Convention of Virginia further agreed to contribute speedily and liberally to the relief of the people of Boston; to abide by such alterations in their present articles as congress might recommend, and the delegates of Virginia assent to; to export no tobacco after the 10th of August, 1775, and, in lieu of its cultivation, to encourage manufactures, &c., &c. They finished by selecting as their delegates to the general congress, Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Edmund Pendleton, and Benjamin Harrison.

To this assembly the eyes of all America were now anxiously turned. It met, as appointed, at Philadelphia, on Monday, the 4th of September, when all the provinces from Massachusetts to South Carolina inclusive, with the single exception of North Carolina, were found to

be represented. On the following day they assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in Chesnut-street, chose Peyton Randolph president, and organised themselves into a deliberative assembly. The tardy delegates from North Carolina arrived on the 14th and took their seats with the rest. The assembly thus completed consisted in all of fifty-five delegates, including nearly all those who were afterwards honoured with the title of *Patres Patriæ*; but the greatest of all—the real father of American independence, the man without whom there would have been no revolution at this time, or a revolution that would have failed—was not there. We need scarcely name *Benjamin Franklin*. They lost no time in proceeding to business. The debate was opened by Patrick Henry, their Chatham or Demosthenes; and, after a few days, they agreed upon a declaration of rights, to which they said they were entitled by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and their several charters or compacts. This was followed by a new non-consumption, non-importation, and non-exportation association, to be universally observed, and infringed by no American citizen. And, this done, they set about preparing a series of solemn addresses, one being to King George, to express their loyal affection; one to the people of Great Britain, to show how barbarously they had been treated; and one to the French people of Quebec, inviting them to make common cause with the Anglo-American colonies, and urging them to take up arms against the English, who had conquered Canada only fourteen years before, and join heart and hand with the free American States. Congress also prepared and sent letters to the colonists of Georgia, East and West Florida, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, to induce them to shake off their dependence on the mother-country, and join them in their contest. These letters were, for the moment, scarcely more successful than the address to the French of Quebec; but the provocation given to the parliament, and crown, and people of Great Britain, by the writing of them, sank deep, and convinced most men who were not blinded by party, or by palpable ignorance, that the Americans would

hesitate at nothing that promised to forward their views. The congress agreed that another general congress should be held on the 10th day of May of the ensuing year (1775), and then, on the 26th of October, they dissolved themselves.

Previously to the dissolution of the congress at Philadelphia, the people of Massachusetts had made another demonstration at Salem; their town of Concord became a depôt of ammunition, and almost a place of arms. Minute-men, as they were called from the condition of their service, which was to turn out with musket or rifle at a minute's notice, were enlisted, and money was voted to purchase warlike stores. Committees and sub-committees were named for different purposes, as Committee of Safety, the Committee of Supplies, and Committee of the Militia; and, to complete these acts of preparation and defiance, they appointed Jedediah Pribble, and Artemas Ward, who had seen some service in the last war with the French and Canadians, to be their generals. And it was presently determined that General Gage's troops should be attacked whenever they marched out with their baggage, ammunition, and artillery; as this would prove they were going to support the acts of the British parliament by force. They resolved that 12,000 men should be got under arms in the province as soon as possible, and that the minute-men should receive regular pay, and be allowed to choose their own officers. They sent emissaries to Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, to request them to prepare their respective quotas, so as to make up an army of 20,000 men; and they appointed a committee to keep up a correspondence with the Protestants of Canada, and more particularly with the new settlers of the Presbyterian persuasion. They also addressed a circular letter to all the dissenting ministers in New England, expressing great hopes in an order of men who had ever distinguished themselves in the cause of America, and recommending them to assist in averting that dreadful slavery with which the country was now threatened. It is believed that the preachers stood in no need of this incitement, having been very

busy both with the tongue in the pulpit, and with the pen in the newspapers, in helping on the design ever since the quarrel began. Early in December the provincial congress of Massachusetts prorogued themselves, that they might be at home in time to keep a day of thanksgiving with their families.

A proclamation had been issued by the king, strictly prohibiting the exportation of warlike stores to America. As soon as copies of this document were received in the colonies, the people of Rhode Island, who had burned the Gaspee schooner, seized upon forty pieces of cannon belonging to the crown, which had been mounted on batteries for the defence of the harbour, and carried them off into the country, to have them in readiness to mow down the king's troops. In New Hampshire, a number of armed men assembled, surprised a small fort called "William and Mary," garrisoned only by an officer and five men, and carried off the ordnance, gunpowder, and other military stores. Mills were erected for making gunpowder, manufactories were set up for making arms, and great encouragement was offered for making saltpetre. New York, however, in spite of the impetuosity of Jay and other young enthusiasts, continued to be rather lukewarm or divided; the government party, the wealthy classes, were still for reconciliation and a peaceful settlement of the quarrel; and they had influence enough in the assembly of the colony to carry a vote refusing to accede to the proceedings and resolutions of the general congress, which had been approved and confirmed by most of the other provinces.

In England, meanwhile, Franklin had not been idle. As instructed by his constituents, he had given all possible publicity to the addresses of the general congress to the king and to the people of Great Britain—the first to show how loyal were the Americans—the second (Jay's composition) to excite the popular body. Moreover, the philosopher, assisted by numerous agents, and by some of the members of opposition in parliament, had been extremely active in some of the principal manufacturing towns in the north of England, particularly

among the dissenters, who were urged to petition the throne in favour of the colonies and of their own trade, which must suffer immensely from the non-importation agreements. To counteract these agencies, to show that Franklin's scheme was in reality nothing less than to dismember the British empire, to check the petitions, or get up counter-petitions, Adam Smith, the author of the 'Wealth of Nations,' applied to Dr. Roebuck, the eminent physician of Birmingham, and the intimate friend of Shenstone, the poet, imploring him, without loss of time, to make a journey through the manufacturing districts, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, &c., to see his friends, to communicate with the people, and to explain to them the real motives and objects of the Americans. This was done in concurrence with Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, who at the same time adopted other measures to check or throw discredit on the petitions Franklin was procuring. Soon after Adam Smith's letter was written, an unsuccessful attempt was made to disarm Franklin's hostility, or to ascertain his intentions, by an English lady, and by that lady's brother, Admiral Lord Howe, who had probably been already designated for the American command, which he afterwards held.

On the 30th of September the parliament, which had yet more than a year to complete its septennial term, had been dissolved by proclamation, and writs issued for a new one. The general election in the month of October had gone greatly in favour of ministers. The nation seemed tired of the American question, which had vexed their ear ever since 1765, and the large majority of the people were certainly of opinion that the colonies had grossly insulted king, parliament, and country, and invited chastisement. Loyalty certainly increased at home in proportion as disaffection increased abroad. A glance into the publications of the day will sufficiently establish this fact, and convince every candid man that, whatever might be the complaints at a later period, when our ministers and commanders in America had shown an utter incompetency for conducting a great war, few Englishmen complained at this moment of any obstinacy in

the sovereign in persevering against the Americans. In some few places, however, tests were proposed by a portion of freeholders and voters, including pledges to stop hostilities with America. Thus some of the freeholders of Middlesex, at a meeting, proposed to John Wilkes, who was again a candidate, and to his colleague, Serjeant Glynn, a test, in which they should engage to promote bills for shortening the duration of parliaments; for the exclusion of all placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons; for a more fair and equal representation of the people in parliament; for vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of Middlesex on the former forced election of Luttrell; and for procuring an absolute repeal of the four late American acts, &c. Wilkes and Glynn, who were both returned triumphantly, signed this paper. The court had not ventured to offer the shadow of opposition to the election of Wilkes, who, moreover, was elected at the same time lord mayor of London. The writs had been made returnable on the 29th of November; and on that day the king went down to the House of Peers, and, being on the throne commanded the attendance of the Commons; and, they being come, his majesty, by his chancellor, signified his pleasure that they should return and choose a speaker, to be presented on the next day for his majesty's approbation. The Commons unanimously re-elected Sir Fletcher Norton; and on the following day (the 30th) the king opened parliament, with a speech, in the usual form. An address, also in the usual form, was moved for ministers; but an amendment was proposed on the side of opposition, to the effect that his majesty would be pleased to communicate the whole intelligence he had received from America, and lay all letters, orders, and instructions whatsoever relating to that business before parliament. This was productive of some considerable debate, and of a division. "The great speakers in opposition," says Burke, in the *Annual Register*, "never distinguished themselves in a more striking manner than in this day's debate." They were, however, outvoted by a majority of 264 against 73. This was in the Commons. In the Lords both the

address and the debate upon it were still hotter. Their lordships declared their abhorrence and detestation of the daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws which so strongly prevailed in the province of Massachusetts Bay, &c.; they thankfully acknowledged the communication it had pleased his majesty to make, of his having taken such measures and given such orders as he judged the most proper and effectual for the protection and security of commerce, and for the carrying into execution the acts passed in the last session of the late parliament, &c. Chatham was away at Hayes; but the Duke of Richmond moved an amendment to the same effect as that made in the Commons. After a long debate, the opposition, upon a division, only counted 43 to 63. Nine of the minority joined in a strong and pointed protest—the first protest heard of upon an address.

Having carried their addresses by such vast majorities, and having to all appearance made up their minds to the high-handed course they were to pursue, ministers might have been expected to call for an increase of forces; but, instead of doing this, and instead of keeping attention awake to the American business, they left the estimates to be entirely formed upon a peace establishment, continued the army as it was, and reduced the navy by 4000 seamen, thus leaving only 16,000 for the service of the ensuing year. The House and the country were at a loss how to reconcile this conduct of administration with the speech from the throne, which seemed to call for the most vigorous and decisive measures. Vehement debates took place in both Houses. In the Lords, Sandwich, as head of the admiralty, confidently asserted that he knew that the low navy establishment would be quite sufficient to reduce the colonies to obedience. He spoke contemptuously of the power and of the courage of the Americans. He declared that they were neither disciplined, nor capable of discipline; and that their numbers, of which such boasts had been made, would only add to the facility of their defeat when brought into action.

A.D. 1775.—During the Christmas holidays ministers received more alarming intelligence from America, coming down to the seizure of Fort William and Mary,

which we have mentioned ; and the Opposition arranged their plans of attack, and stipulated with Chatham that he should on the first occasion make one of his grand displays in the House of Lords. A report had spread that the great orator was determined to give himself no further trouble about American affairs, and that for certain he did not intend to come up to town. But on the 20th of January the orator was in his place ; and, according to his ardent wish, the American philosopher was there to hear him, having been introduced or smuggled into the House by Chatham himself. His feet were lame with the gout, but there was no lameness in his tongue, and when he rose to speak there was an awful silence, none but his most intimate friends knowing the motion he was about to make. That motion was simply “ that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to desire and beseech that, in order to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there ; and, above all, for preventing, in the meantime, any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston ; now suffering under the daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town ; it may graciously please his majesty, that immediate orders be despatched to General Gage, for removing his majesty’s forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigour of the season, and other circumstances indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable.” He said, “ I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America ; and I shall ever contend, that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree : they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation (*here Franklin must have smiled*) ; but let the line be skillfully drawn between the objects of those ordinances and their private, internal property ; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate ; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else it will cease to be property. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints as from taxa-

tion for revenue, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless." After thus strongly stating the supremacy of the mother-country, he ventured, rather boldly, to censure the declaratory act, which was in a manner the work of his own hand. He drew a startling, yet not untrue, picture of General Gage's army. It was not easy to exaggerate the ill condition of those forces, half housed in temporary ill-built barracks, half bivouacked on Boston Neck and the Common, in that inclement winter, and in a climate so much colder than our own—inactive, torpid, and, for the time, useless—badly provided with everything, save insult and abuse from the colonists—wasting away with sickness—pining for action; but the orator ought to have remembered that it was, after all, a respect to the rights of British subjects, an aversion to begin the shedding of human blood, a constitutional subjugation of the military to the civil power, that had reduced this army to the condition it was in. If the king and his government had ventured upon that tyranny Chatham was talking of, the soldiers at that moment would easily have found better provisions and better quarters. Chatham, in his splendid declamations, was doing his best to make the condition of the troops worse than it was, and was further embarrassing an officer who was but too much hampered and embarrassed already. Blinded, perhaps, as it was certainly and especially intended he should be, by some of the half-speaking papers of the general congress which had been assembled at Philadelphia, he panegyrised that assembly for decency, firmness, and wisdom, and for qualities equal or preferable to whatever had been seen in ancient days. He said that ministers derived their information from wrong sources—from selfish merchants, packers, and factors, and such servile classes of Americans, whose strength and stamina were not to be compared with the cultivators of the land, in whose simplicity of life was found the simpleness of virtue—the integrity and courage of freedom. As a proper source of information and irrefragable opinions concerning the colonies, he referred ministers to Dr. Franklin. He

proclaimed that it was nothing but the glorious spirit of Whiggism that was animating the colonists; and that the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and the Whigs on this, were engaged in one common cause. Chatham's motion was supported by Lord Shelburne, who, according to William Pitt, "spoke well and warmly."* It was found, however, that the opposition lords were not fully or generally agreed on the propriety of recalling the troops. The brilliant Lord Lyttelton both spoke and voted against Chatham, upon whose altar he had recently been offering up incense. To other Whig lords it seemed most unjust and unwise to leave those American citizens who had risked their lives in favour of the claims of this country, as unprotected victims to the rage of an armed populace; and that, too, before any previous stipulations were made for their safety. These lords also considered that proper concessions had not been made by the people of Boston, and that the troops, after all, were not numerous enough to raise any reasonable alarm. The ministerial lords said that all conciliating means had proved ineffectual, or had only tended to increase the stir and tumult; that, if we gave way on the present occasion, from notions of present advantages in trade and commerce, such a yielding would infallibly defeat its own object, it being plain that our navigation act, and all other acts regulating trade, would fall victims to the interested and ambitious views of the Americans. Chatham rose a second time to speak to this last and cogent argument. "If," said he, "the noble lord should prove correct in suggesting that the views of the Americans are ultimately directed to abrogate the act of navigation and the other regulating acts, so wisely calculated to promote a reciprocity of interests, and to advance the grandeur and prosperity of the whole empire, no person present, however zealous, would be readier than myself to resist and crush their endeavours." Upon a division only 18 were found to support Chatham's motion, while no fewer than 68 voted against it.

* Chatham Correspondence.

Dr. Franklin made haste to express the admiration with which he was filled for that truly great man, the Earl of Chatham, declaring that he had seen, in the course of his life, sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence; but in the present instance he had seen both united, and both, as he thought, in the highest degree possible.* This was soon followed by two or three interviews between the orator and the philosopher. As Chatham had mentioned in the House of Lords that he had prepared a plan for healing all differences, Franklin was very desirous to know what this plan was, and was meditating a visit when Lord Mahon called upon him, and told him Lord Chatham was very desirous of seeing him. On Friday, the 27th of January, the philosopher went down to Hayes, and, on the following Sunday, the orator repaid the visit at his lodging in Craven-street. The philosopher was more excited by the visit and the equipage waiting at his door, than might have been expected; but philosophers are but men, and republicans of the most democratic turn have not been universally found insensible to aristocratic distinctions and the trappings and blazons of rank. On the following Friday morning, as appointed, Franklin was again at Hayes; but, though he stayed nearly four hours, he had not time to go through half the memorandums he had made for Chatham's guidance. According to his account, the great orator kept the talk to himself. "His lordship," says he "in the manner of, I think, *all eloquent persons*, was so full and diffuse in supporting every particular I questioned! . . . He is not easily interrupted, and I had such pleasure in hearing him that I found little inclination to interrupt him." He therefore ceased his querying; and the only alteration that Chatham made, at his suggestion, was of a *single word*. He says that there was not time to make changes and another fair copy; that neither of them expected that the plan would be adopted; and that it might be amended afterwards: but, in our humble

* Letter to Earl Stanhope, in Chat. Cor.

opinion, Chatham and Franklin could never have agreed upon any plan of accommodation whatsoever; and all that the American really wanted from the proud Englishman was another brilliant speech, which would be sure to increase the embarrassment of government, and to contain passages proper to flatter the pride and to stimulate the resistance of the colonies. If the great orator could possibly have foreseen that Franklin, even under any circumstances of provocation, would dis sever the two countries, and then seek the alliance of France and Spain, and every country in enmity with Great Britain, we believe he would have spurned him from his door, or brained him with his gout-crutch. But Franklin took especial care to flatter the great political dogma of Chatham, and to assure him that neither he nor any of his countrymen wished to break the ties which bound the colonies to the mother-country. Some time before this Chatham had mentioned an opinion prevailing in England, that America aimed at setting up for herself as an independent state; and Franklin had assured him "that he never had heard, in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America."*

On Wednesday, the 1st of February, Chatham, having previously secured the attendance and support of the Duke of Richmond, Earl Stanhope, and others, rose in the House of Lords with his plan, which he called "a provisional bill for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." He said that "no regard for popularity, no predilection for his country, not the high esteem he entertained for America on the one hand, nor the unalterable steady regard he entertained for the dignity of Great Britain on the other, should at all influence his conduct; for, though he loved the Americans, as men prizing and setting the just value on that inestimable blessing, liberty,

* Letter from Franklin to his son.

yet, if he could once bring himself to be persuaded that they entertained the most distant intentions of throwing off the legislative supremacy and great constitutional superintending power and control of the British legislature, he should be the very person himself who would be the first and most zealous mover for securing and enforcing that power, by every possible exertion this country was capable of making."

The proposed bill was to the following effect:—1. That the parliament of Great Britain had full power to bind America in all matters touching the general weal of the whole dominion of the imperial crown of Great Britain, and beyond the competency of the local representatives of distant colonies; and most especially an indubitable and indispensable right to make laws for regulating navigation and trade throughout the complicated system of British commerce; that the colonies of America have ever been, are, and of right ought to be, dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, and subordinate unto the British parliament; and that all subjects in the colonies are bound in duty and allegiance to recognise and obey the supreme legislative authority of parliament, &c. 2. That to quiet and dispel *groundless* jealousies and fears, it should be declared that no military force could ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the best rights of the people; but that it should also be declared at the same time that the authority of sending troops to the colonies, or to any part of the British dominions, rested with the parliament and the king, and not with the provincial assemblies in the colonies; and that the legal, constitutional, and hitherto unquestioned prerogative of the crown to send any part of the army to any of the British dominions and possessions, whether in America or elsewhere, could never be rendered dependent upon the will of the colonists or their assemblies. 3. That no tallage, tax, or other charge for his majesty's revenue should be commanded or levied from British freemen in America, without common consent, by act of provincial assembly there, duly convened for that purpose. 4. That the king and parlia-

ment now assembled should declare it lawful for delegates from the provinces, lately assembled at Philadelphia, to meet again in general congress at the said city of Philadelphia, on the 9th of May next ensuing, in order to take into consideration the making due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies; as also to consider the making a free grant to the crown of a certain perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of the British parliament, to be by them appropriated to the alleviation of the national debt, "no doubt being had but this just free aid would be in such honourable proportion as might seem meet and becoming from great and flourishing colonies towards a parent-country labouring under the heaviest burthens, which, in no inconsiderable part, had been willingly taken upon ourselves and posterity, for the defence, extension, and prosperity of the colonies:" but that this free grant was not be understood as a condition of redress, but simply as a testimony of affection; nor was congress to exercise any right of taxation, without first recognising the supreme legislative and superintending power of parliament, &c. 5. That the prayer of the petition of congress should then be granted; that the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts in America should be restrained within their ancient limits, and the trial by jury in all civil cases, where the same had been abolished, should be restored; and that no subject in America should, in capital cases, be liable to be indicted and tried for the same in any place out of the province wherein such offence should be alleged to have been committed, nor be deprived of a trial by his peers of the vicinage: nor should it be lawful to send persons indicted for murder in any province of America to another colony, or to Great Britain, for trial. 6. That all and every such acts, or so much of them as had been represented to have been found grievous; namely, the several acts of the 4th Geo. III. c. 15 and c. 34; 5th Geo. III. c. 25; 6th Geo. III. c. 52; 7th Geo. III. c. 41 and c. 46; 8th Geo. III. c. 22; 12th Geo. III. c. 24; with the three acts for stopping the port and

blocking up the harbour of Boston ; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay ; and that entitled, "An Act for the better administration of Justice," &c. ; also the act for regulating the government of Quebec, and the act passed in the same session relating to the quarters of soldiers, should be and are hereby suspended, and not to have effect or execution, from the date of this act : and that all the said acts, or the parts of them complained of, should be finally repealed and annulled, from the day that the new recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament should have been made on the part of the colonies. 7. And that, for the better securing due and impartial administration of justice in the colonies, his majesty's judges in the courts of law in the colonies of America *to be appointed with salaries, by the crown*, should hold their offices and salaries, as his majesty's judges in England, *quandiu se bene gesserint*.—The Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state for America, proposed that the bill should lie on the table, till the papers referred to the House by his majesty should have been first taken into consideration : the Earl of Sandwich moved the rejection of the bill at once and for ever, and he was supported by Lord Hillsborough, formerly secretary of state for the colonies, and by Lord Gower. The Duke of Grafton strongly condemned, as irregular and unparliamentary, the way in which the bill had been hurried into the House, without notice given, &c. Lord Sandwich's speech, though apparently intemperate, contained some facts and reasonings not to be easily answered. He declared that to make any concession at this moment would be an abandoning the whole cause of government ; that the Americans had been guilty of actual rebellion in seizing the king's forts and ammunition ; that the Americans were not disputing about words and nice distinctions, but realities ; that they were aiming at independence for the future, and for the immediate throwing off all the commercial restrictions we had put upon them. The chief arguments used by the other lords who spoke against the bill were—that, while

it would give too much to the Americans, it offered no security for any concession on their part; that the Americans would only agree to those parts of it that suited their own views, and would totally disclaim those parts of it that enjoined submission or concession; that the bill was most condemnable, as it not only gave a sanction to the traitorous proceedings of the congress already held, but also legalised another such meeting by act of parliament, &c. Chatham rose to defend himself and his bill from the numerous attacks which were made on both. The indignity that had been offered in moving its instant rejection seemed to renew all the fire of his youth; and he retorted the ministerial sarcasms with the most pointed and personal severity. Upon a division the great orator's pacifying scheme was rejected by a majority of 61 against 32. The bill was as much talked of out of doors, and as much applauded by one party, as he could well have desired. The corporation of the City of London passed him a vote of thanks for his plan, and a similar compliment to all those who had supported him in his humane design: and Franklin, who could never have been satisfied with the bill if it had been passed, represented to his countrymen, and to all England, the monstrous wickedness of ministers in rejecting it.

In the meantime debates had taken place in the House of Commons upon various petitions, and among them, upon one presented from Franklin, Bellan, and Lee, who prayed to be examined at the bar in support of the demands of the general congress. It was insisted by and for ministers that this would look like sanctioning congress, which had met in an irregular and illegal manner; and the motion that the petition should be brought up was negatived by an immense majority. On the 2nd of February, the day after Chatham's proposals in the Lords, Lord North, in the Commons, in a committee of the whole House on the American papers, moved for an address of thanks to the king for the communication of the said papers. If the Americans required any such suggestions, they might have learnt

what course they were to pursue, in resisting the mother-country by force of arms, from almost every debate that now took place in the British parliament. On the present occasion it was shown, on the side of opposition, how very easy it would be for the colonies to obtain foreign assistance, warlike stores, foreign troops, and foreign officers. An amendment proposed by Fox was negatived by a majority of 304 against 105; and, on a second division, North's original motion was carried by a majority of 296 against 106.

On the 10th of February Lord North moved for leave to bring in his bill for cutting off the entire trade of New England and their profitable fishery, with an exception in favour of such individuals as should procure from their governors certificates of good or loyal behaviour, and should take a test acknowledging the rights of the British parliament, &c. In supporting the bill it was urged that, as the Americans had bound themselves not to trade with us, it was fair to prevent their trading with other countries; that, as they had entered into the most unlawful and daring associations to ruin our merchants, impoverish our manufacturers, and starve our West India Islands, which had been in the habit of deriving their provisions from them, it was but fair to retaliate upon them part of these mischiefs; that, if any foreign power had offered us only a small part of the insult and injury we had received from our colonies, the whole nation would have been in a flame to demand satisfaction, and the minister would have been ruined who had been slack in obtaining it. The charge of cruelty was denied. The bill was asserted to be a measure of humanity and mercy as well as of coercion. The colonies had incurred the penalties of rebellion, and were liable to the severest military execution; but, instead of these dreadful punishments, it was proposed to bring them to their senses only by a restriction in their trade, which would last no longer than their contumacy. They had too long imposed upon and deluded us with their threats of depriving us of their trade, hoping, through the terrors of our merchants and manu-

facturers, to bend the legislature to a compliance with all their demands, until they had brought their designs to maturity, so as to be able to throw off that mask, and openly proclaim their independence. The bill was carried through the Commons by immense majorities. On the third reading, in the Lords, an amendment was made for including, as equally guilty with the New Englanders, the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. It was urged, that by the late accounts and letters upon their lordships' table, it appeared that these provinces had been pursuing a course which merited and called for the same penalties. The question being put, the amendment was carried by 52 against 21; and then the bill was carried by 73 against 21, and returned to the Commons. The introduction of the amendment caused a disagreement between the title and the body of the bill; and on that ground the Commons agreed in rejecting the additions made by the Lords. A few days after, a conference took place between the two Houses, when their lordships consented to withdraw the amendment, which was in fact rendered unnecessary by another bill, introduced by Lord North, for restraining the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina; and on the 30th of March the bill, without the amendment, received the royal assent.

In order to gratify the Irish, and to keep up, by their means, a part of the trade which had been in the hands of the New Englanders, bounties were allowed to Irish ships engaged in the Newfoundland and Greenland fisheries, several restraints upon Irish commerce were removed, and a bounty was also granted on the importation of their flax-seed.

In the meanwhile, Lord North had astonished all parties, by bringing forward, on the 20th of February, in a committee of the whole House, his famous conciliatory motion, which was, for passing the following resolution: "That, when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court of any of his majesty's provinces or colonies, shall propose to make provision for contributing

their proportion to the common defence, to be raised under the authorities of the general court, or general assembly, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and administration of justice, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony; to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of which shall be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation." Lord North endeavoured to show that this resolution agreed with, and rose naturally out of, the late address to the throne, particularly from the following passage in that address:—"And, whenever any of the colonies shall make a proper application to us, we shall be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence." He said that it was his sense, and, as he believed, the sense of the House, that parliament, in passing that address, not only meant to show the Americans its firm determination to support its just rights, but also its tenderness and conciliatory disposition; upon their making proper concessions; and that, particularly, although parliament could never give up its right of taxation, and must always maintain the doctrine that every part of the empire was bound to bear its portion of service and taxes for the common defence, yet, as to the *mode* of contribution, if that, and not the question of right, was the bone of contention, if the Americans would propose such other means as were most agreeable to themselves, parliament would not hesitate a moment to suspend the exercise of the right, and would concede to the Americans the authority of raising their quotas by themselves and in their own way. "If they reject the terms," said he, "we shall be justified in taking the most coercive measures, and they must be answerable to God and man for the consequences." His speech was very long, and the House very full. In the end he saw his resolution adopted by a majority of 274 against 18!

On the 22nd of March, Burke, who had eloquently

opposed Lord North's conciliatory scheme, produced a plan of his own, comprised in thirteen resolutions, and prefaced by one of the most admired of his speeches. According to his pacificatory scheme, our supremacy was indispensable, and was to remain, though it was to be a sovereignty without power, or with a power most rarely and timidly exercised. Without waiting for any advances or concession on the part of the Americans, we were to allow all the claims they had set forth in their petitions and declarations, and our parliament was to undo all that it had done in their regard ever since the year 1765. The first four resolutions and the last were met by ministers with the previous question; and the other eight were negatived.

In presenting the money bills, when parliament came to be prorogued, the Speaker stated to his majesty the heavy amount of the grants voted, which nothing but the serious exigencies of the times could justify at a season when we were in profound peace with all the powers of Europe: but this gentle hint was accompanied with assurances, that, if the Americans should persist in rebellion, and the sword must be drawn, the faithful Commons would do everything in their power to support his majesty, and maintain the supremacy of the legislature.* In putting an end to the session—on the 26th of May—his majesty expressed his most perfect satisfaction with the conduct of parliament at this important crisis.

But while the Houses of parliament in England had been echoing with the sonorous periods of oratory, the hill sides and river banks of America had been ringing with sharp and dissonant peals of musketry. The colonists had fired their first shot, and blood had been flowing in no diminutive stream. They had passed the winter in making preparations for holding the general congress which was to meet at Philadelphia in the month of May; in fabricating and repairing arms, in drilling

* The Speaker also praised the late law for perpetuating the Grenville Act for the trial of contested elections.

the militia, and in keeping their spirits up by the production and interchange of invitations, manifestos, and proclamations. General Gage, on the 16th of February (just six days after the production of Lord North's conciliatory scheme), ordered a small detachment of troops to proceed to Salem, and take possession of some brass cannon and field-pieces which had been collected at that point. The detachment proceeded by water to Marble Head, whence they marched to Salem; but, before they could arrive at that town the Americans had removed their artillery.

Having received certain information that a considerable quantity of military stores was deposited at Concord, a town about twenty miles from Boston, Gage, in the night between the 18th and 19th of April, detached the grenadiers and light infantry of his army, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn of the marines, with orders to proceed with all despatch to destroy that dépôt. The detachment, having embarked in boats, was conveyed up Charles River, as far as a place called Phipp's Farm: there they landed, at the dead of night, and thence they proceeded in silence and in haste towards Concord, seizing every person they met, in the hope of stopping any intelligence of their march. But the New Englanders were a people not likely to be caught sleeping; they had active agents and spies, who watched the governor and every movement of the troops, and they were fully prepared for any thing that might happen. The detachment had not marched many miles, when their ears were saluted with the firing of guns, and the ringing of bells, the signals of alarm. At these, by him, unexpected sounds, Colonel Smith threw forward six companies of light infantry, with orders to advance as fast as they could run and secure the bridges. These companies reached Lexington, a town about fifteen miles from Boston, and five miles from Concord, at five o'clock in the morning, having as they advanced seen a body of men under arms drawn up on a green near the high road. When questioned by the officer and ordered to retire, the Americans quitted

the green in some confusion; but as they went off several guns were fired upon the king's troops from behind a wall and from some adjoining houses. By this, their first fire, the Americans wounded one man, and shot Major Pitcairn's horse in two places. Though highly exasperated, the British troops were steady to their orders and did not return the fire till the word was given:—when they fired, they killed several and wounded others. During this check and delay the grenadiers came up with the light infantry, and then the whole detachment pushed on to Concord—a place ill named for the scenes it was about to witness. As they drew near that place, a large body of American militia was seen drawn up under arms on a gentle eminence; and the light infantry were ordered to make a flank movement and disperse them, while the grenadiers marched on, by the direct road, into Concord. As the light infantry ascended the hill on one side the militia descended it on the other, retreating towards the back of the town and crossing one of the bridges which was on the other side of the town. The light infantry pressed close on their heels and took possession of the bridge. Meanwhile the grenadiers entered the town, and, setting diligently to work, destroyed the military stores. The militia, who were reinforced from the country behind, now came forward, as if with the intention of forcing the bridge over which they had retreated, and engaging the king's troops in the town. The light infantry on the bridge fired upon them. The militia returned the fire briskly, and several men were killed and wounded on each side. But, as the grenadiers had now accomplished the purpose of the expedition, Colonel Smith withdrew the light infantry from the bridge, put his whole detachment in marching order, and began to retire deliberately towards Boston. Their backs were scarcely turned, when the Americans set up a shout that the “lobsters” were afraid of them! They were also by this time greatly reinforced, for militia-men, minute-men—dead shots at the rifle—and volunteers of every description had run in from all quarters to post themselves behind trees, in houses, and behind walls,

flanking the roads through which the British troops were to pass. Presently an incessant though irregular fire began in front and on both flanks, and the main body of the militia, having recrossed the bridge, pressed upon the rear of the English soldiers, who were too much fatigued with their long night-march and want of rest to move with any great speed. Another discouraging circumstance was, that the most destructive part of the fire proceeded from fellows they could not reach, and who were only seen by the smoke of their rifles. This continued all the way back to Lexington, into which place, according to an English officer present, they were driven before the Americans like a flock of sheep. Worse would have followed—the annihilation of the detachment would have been inevitable—if General Gage had not had the forethought of sending from Boston a second detachment to sustain the first. This second detachment, consisting of sixteen companies of foot and some marines, with two pieces of artillery, under the command of Lord Percy, met Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn at Lexington, and presented a front which made the militia-men halt and fall back. The two united detachments then rested on their arms, and received, for the first time, some slight refreshment. Lord Percy formed his detachment into a hollow square, in which he enclosed Colonel Smith's party, who by this time were so exhausted with fatigue, that for the most part they threw themselves on the ground, "with their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like those of dogs after a chase." When they were somewhat refreshed Lord Percy slowly moved the whole body towards Boston. The militia, who had been treading on their rear, were no longer to be seen in a compact body; but every house, every wall, every tree the English had to pass sent forth upon them bullets and rifle-shots, the Americans running from front to flank and from flank to rear, loading their pieces at one place and discharging them at another, and keeping their own persons so well covered and concealed that it was useless to attempt firing at them. Indeed, for miles of that tedious, dismal journey,

the English soldiers scarcely pulled a trigger. When the two detachments arrived at Boston river, they were at a loss to know which was the safest place to ford it at. Lord Percy sought information from some country-people, who artfully directed him towards an ambuscade, where his troops must have been cut to pieces: but fortunately his lordship had some little knowledge of the river and the country, and no great reliance on the smooth tongues of the New Englanders, and he struck aside to a different ford, and crossed the river in safety. But the left bank as well as the right was swarming with riflemen, who annoyed the troops all the way to Boston, which they reached about sunset quite spent with fatigue. They had left behind them more than 60 killed and 49 missing, in addition to which they had 136 wounded. They accused the Americans of barbarously scalping several of Colonel Smith's party, and the fact is not denied on authority so respectable as that on which it is asserted. The provincials owned to a loss of 60, of whom two-thirds were killed.* Wonderfully elated with this affair, which they termed "the glorious victory of Lexington," the Americans talked of nothing less than driving the king's troops from Boston. But the works which Gage had erected on Boston Neck, and the vessels of war lying nearly all round the town, discouraged any immediate attempt of the kind; and instead of an assault, they prepared themselves for a blockade. Twenty thousand men—so rapidly did reinforcements pour in from distant parts of the province—put themselves in cantonments, and formed a line nearly twenty miles in extent, with their left leaning on the river Mystic, and their right on the town of Roxburgh, thus enclosing Boston in the centre. They were under the command of Ward, Pribble, Heath, Prescott, and Thomas, officers who had all served in the provincial regiments during the last war, and who now were all acting as generals. They fixed their head-quarters at Cambridge; and they were soon joined by a strong de-

* Stedman, History of the American War.

tachment of troops from Connecticut under the command of General Putnam, an old experienced officer who had served in the two last wars, and who had obtained, like the others, the rank of colonel. Since the conclusion of the war, in 1763, he had been living on a small farm, to which he had annexed a tavern—"an *économie*," says Stedman, "not uncommon in America, particularly in the province of New England." Putnam took up such a position with his detachment as to be able readily to support any part of the line that might be attacked from Boston Neck. But General Gage remained perfectly inactive, neither attacking this line, which was at first loose and irregular, without any military consistency, nor erecting outworks to prevent any sudden advance upon his main position on the Neck.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts, being adjourned from Concord to Water Town, a place about ten miles from Boston, immediately resolved, that an army of 30,000 men should be raised and established, whereof 13,600 should be of that province; and that a letter and delegates should be sent to the several colonies of Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, for further assistance and co-operation. They despatched Captain John Derby, of Salem, to England with despatches for Franklin, containing an account of the Lexington fight, and enclosing another address to the people of Great Britain, stating that they would never submit to the tyranny of a cruel ministry, and that they were determined to die or be free. In the same address, however, they renewed their professions of loyalty to the king, and of esteem for the honour, wisdom, and valour of the English people. They continued to exert themselves in procuring ammunition and artillery; and, in a very short time, their lines were strengthened with sixteen field-pieces, four brass guns of a small size, a few large iron cannon, taken out of merchant-vessels, and two or three mortars and howitzers. Powder, however, continued to be scarce. Matters were in this condition when Lord North's conciliatory propositions arrived from England, to be scorned and laughed at.

At the end of May, General Howe, the brother of

Lord Howe, and Generals Burgoyne and Clinton arrived at Boston from England, with a considerable number of marines and draughts from other regiments. These were soon followed by several regiments from Ireland, which raised the force to nearly 10,000 men. As the gauntlet had been fairly thrown down by the Americans, and war to extremities had been decided upon by the English government, it might have been expected that this respectable force would have been actively employed at once, instead of being left to waste their spirits in idleness or routine duty. The Americans were in a condition that tempted an attack, and promised almost certain success. Twenty thousand militia-men and raw troops, scattered over twenty or more miles of country, ought to have been routed by five thousand veterans, headed by a general that knew his duty, and was determined to 'perform it. A sudden concentrated movement from Boston Neck would have done the business; the Americans nearest to that position, at and about Roxburgh, must have been utterly routed, before their ill-trained companions could have made the movements and the long marches necessary to get to their assistance. Except at Cambridge, their head-quarters, five hundred brave men might have broken their line at any one point; but Howe and Burgoyne and Clinton seemed to agree to be as inactive and passive as Gage, with his inferior force, had been before their arrival; and the Americans made excellent use of the time allowed them in teaching their people military evolutions, and in gathering more and more force from all parts to give consistency to their loose line, and to render their blockades by land effective.

On the 8th of June, the provincial congress of Massachusetts resolved that the compact between the crown of Great Britain and that colony was *dissolved* by the violation of their charter. On the 12th of June General Gage issued a proclamation, offering a full pardon in the king's name, to all who would forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their peaceable occupations, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose

offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment. The only effect of this proclamation appears to have been an increase of defiance and determination on the part of the Americans, who, strange to say, were allowed to act on the offensive. To the north of the peninsula of Boston, and separated from it only by Charles River (about the breadth of the Thames at London) and now, though not then, united to it by a bridge, is the somewhat similar peninsula of Charlestown, entirely surrounded by navigable water, except where it is joined to the mainland by an isthmus, somewhat wider and more accessible than Boston Neck. The town which gives its name to the peninsula stands immediately over against Boston, like a suburb to it, or as Southwark to London. In the centre of the peninsula rises the memorable eminence of Bunker's Hill, which has an easy ascent from the isthmus, but is steep and rugged on every other side. Charlestown stands at the foot of this eminence, which is high enough to overlook every part of Boston, and near enough to cannonade and command that city. It should seem almost incredible, that the merest tyro in the art of war—the veriest blunderer ever confided in to lead his flag into disgrace and his troops to destruction—could possibly neglect this vital position: but Gage, deaf to advice, *had* neglected it; and, though Howe, and Burgoyne, and Clinton had been more than twenty days at Boston, with Bunker's Hill constantly staring them in the face, they had done absolutely nothing to secure it, nor had they even thrown out piquets beyond their works at Boston Neck, to watch the proceedings of the Americans, and guard against any sudden movement. According to Stedman, Gage was beginning to talk of doing something with Bunker's Hill, and his talk was reported to the enemy, like nearly everything else that was discussed at head-quarters. On the night of the 16th of June, between nine and ten o'clock, a strong detachment of the blockading army moved from Cambridge, passed unchallenged and unobserved over Charlestown

Neck, and reached the summit of Bunker's Hill without being detected. Setting to work, they presently threw up intrenchments and a formidable redoubt, and placed their guns in battery. Although Boston and Boston Neck were so near, although the peninsula of Charlestown was almost surrounded by men-of-war and transports, nothing was discovered, or, at least, no intimation given, till break of day, when the 'Lively,' sloop of war, began a cannonade on Bunker's Hill. This gave the alarm to Boston and the army; and the officers, rubbing their eyes, saw the important and formidable height covered with works which seemed to have risen by magic in the night, and with troops that were shouting and beginning to fire on Boston Neck and the shipping. As it was now indispensable to do something, General Gage opened upon them, from Copp's Hill, in Boston, a battery of six guns, which fired a long time without doing the Americans any discernible mischief. About the hour of noon a more decisive step was taken, and a detachment from the English army was carried across the river, and landed upon the peninsula of Charlestown, under the command of General Howe and Brigadier Pigott, who had orders, at all costs, to drive the provincials from their works, and occupy Bunker's Hill. The troops, being landed, were formed without opposition; but Howe, perceiving that the works on the crown of the hill were more important than had been imagined, and that fresh columns of Americans were arriving every minute, thought it necessary to halt, and apply to Gage for a reinforcement. New troops were sent across the river, until the column of attack exceeded 2000 men. There were several modes of attacking the Americans. The first and best, and the easiest of execution, as we had the *entire* command of the water, was to have landed the British troops in the rear of the intrenchment, where there was not a cannon to bear upon them, and where the ascent was exceedingly easy. The second way was to have sent some transports drawing little water, and some gun-boats, up Mystic channel, where they could have got within musket-shot of the

left flank of the Americans, which was quite uncovered and naked. The third way, and the *worst*, was to mount the hill right in front, where it was steep and rough, and where the American artillery would meet our men in the teeth—and this was the way chosen by our inconceivable generals! Our men were formed in two lines, with the light infantry on the right wing, led by Howe, and the grenadiers on the left, led by Pigott; they had in their front a few small field-pieces and howitzers, which began to fire at intervals, during which the two lines halted. The left wing, in advancing, were fired upon by a body of provincials, who had posted themselves in the houses of Charlestown, where, as at Lexington, they were covered and safe from our musketry; but fire was set to the houses, and in a brief space of time the whole of that town was burnt to the ground. The right wing halted while this work was doing; and, when it was done, the whole detachment moved up the hill. The Americans, secure behind their entrenchments, reserved their fire till the British troops were almost up to the muzzles of their guns; but then they opened a terrible discharge of cannon and musketry—the latter being unrelenting, as the men in front, as soon as they had fired their pieces, were supplied with others ready loaded by the men in the rear. The effect was tremendous; the British line gave way in several parts; and General Howe was for a few seconds left standing almost alone: for most of his staff, and the men and officers near him, were either killed or wounded. Some few of the newer troops ran fairly down the side of the hill, and never stopped till they reached the boats which had conveyed them over from Boston.

But at this critical moment General Clinton crossed Charles River, with a number of resolute officers; and he not only succeeded in rallying the fugitives, but made them re-ascend the hill and join in a general charge on the Americans and their works, with fixed bayonets. The fire from the intrenchments and redoubt then waxed faint—the loudest noise heard was an English hurrah, and in a very few seconds more the Americans were running for their lives down the easy side of the

hill to Charlestown Neck. As they crossed that low-lying and narrow isthmus, they were enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow sloop-of-war, and one or two floating batteries, which did them far more mischief than they had waited to receive from the soldiery on the hill-top. But if a proper force had been brought up to bear upon that isthmus, and if the troops had pursued them with the bayonet in their loins, few of the Americans could have escaped death or captivity. But the negligence of months could not be repaired in a morning; the stupidity, or something worse, of our commanders was incurable; and the provincials were let go with the loss of some 450 men in killed and wounded; while we had 1050 killed and wounded, inclusive of 89 commissioned officers. There had been an accumulation of nearly all possible blunders and mismanagements on our part. During the heat of the engagement, when the fire of every cannon was of importance, a supply of ball sent over from the ordnance department was found to be of larger dimensions than fitted the calibre of the guns; and this prevented any further use of the artillery. But a still greater disadvantage was the enormous and unnecessary load under which the troops were marched to the attack, and by which, on that hot day, and on that steep ascent, they were nearly exhausted before they reached the real scene of action.* "This circumstance," says Stedman, "was universally censured as unmilitary and absurd: and another error certainly was, that, in-

* Stedman pays a proper tribute to the bravery, steadiness, and discipline of the soldiers, though thus vilely misled and encumbered. He says:—"Twice they were stopped, and twice they returned to the charge, in the middle of a hot summer's day, encumbered with three days' provisions, their knapsacks on their backs, which, together with cartouche-box, ammunition, and firelock, may be estimated at 125 lbs. weight! With a steep hill to climb, covered with grass reaching to their knees, and intersected with walls and fences of various enclosures, and in the face of a hot and well-directed fire, they gained a complete victory over three times their own number of provincials, strongly posted behind a breast-work, and defended by a redoubt."

stead of confining our attack to the enemy's left wing only, the assault was made on the whole front; for their left was covered with nothing more than a breast-work of rails and hay, easy to be scrambled over; and behind it was an open hill, which commanded their redoubts and lines."

Some weeks before the battle of Bunker's Hill, a bold attempt had been commenced in Canada. The congress sitting at Philadelphia, conceived that it would be as easy as profitable to subdue the whole of that far-stretching country. But, even before congress had fixed any plan of operations, a cunning Presbyterian volunteer, by name Ethan Allen, assembled a band of adventurous Yankees, and repaired to Ticonderoga, an important fort at the north end of Lake George, which, with Crown Point, another fort at the southern end of Lake Champlain, was considered as the key to that quarter of Canada. The officer in command at Ticonderoga was a Captain Laplace, an old friend and crony of Ethan Allen. Ethan cajoled his friend, made his little garrison drunk, and then poured his concealed Yankees into the fort. The duped and astonished captain asked by what authority they required him to surrender the king's fort. Ethan Allen, twanging through his nose, replied like a Puritan of the old times, "I demand it in the name of the Great Jehovah and the continental congress!" Besides the fort he obtained upwards of one hundred iron cannon, fifty swivels, two mortars, ten tons of musket-balls, three cart-loads of flints, one hundred stand of small arms, and various other materials of war. Ethan Allen next reduced the fort of Crown Point, which he actually found without guard or garrison. Benedict Arnold, whose name will so often figure in the narrative of this war, came to Lake Champlain, to co-operate with Allen, and to push still bolder plans of his own. This Arnold was a native of Newhaven, and had been till lately a horse-dealer; but, being fond of war and adventure, he had been one of the first to take up arms, and was now colonel of a little regiment called the Green Mountain Boys. Seeing a small sloop-of-war,

the only armed vessel the English government then had in that water, lying at anchor at St. John's, at the north end of Lake Champlain, and knowing the importance of getting possession of her, which would give him the absolute command of the lake, Arnold armed a little schooner, put some of the guns which had been captured upon batteaux; or large flat-bottomed boats, embarked his men, and surprised and captured the sloop. The horse-dealer had a native genius for the stratagems of war, and a happy confidence in his own good fortune. He and Ethan Allen had got into their hands the keys of Canada. General Carleton, the governor of that province, had only two regiments, of about 400 men each, at his disposal; and these he ordered to Fort St. John, about twelve miles in advance of Montreal. But, as soon as General Gage was informed of Arnold's successes, he sent Brigadier Prescott, with a few other officers, by water, from Boston to Montreal. Prescott arrived at that Canadian city in the month of July; and about the same time Colonel Guy Johnstone arrived at the same place with 700 Indians of the Five Nations (bold fellows, accustomed to the musket as well as to the tomahawk, old enemies to the frontier Americans), who now proposed to General Carleton an immediate attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Some of the Indians had examined these two forts, and had discovered that the American garrisons in them were very weak; yet Carleton thought proper neither to employ these savages nor adopt their project for retaking the forts.

As the chief operations of the war lay, this year, in the direction of Canada, we shall continue on this side. A regular plan for occupying or revolutionising all Canada was now submitted to the general or continental congress, who despatched 3000 men, under the command of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, to Crown Point and Lake Champlain. This force embarked in the flat-bottomed boats to cross the broad lake, and descend the river Sorel; but when they landed they were attacked by a strong party of Indians, who obliged them to retreat to their boats, and return to the Isle Aux Noix. Schuyler

falling sick, the sole command of the detachment fell to Richard Montgomery, a man full of courage and enterprise, and fertile in military resources. The Americans compared him to our gallant Wolfe, the conqueror of Quebec; and in some respects Montgomery merited the comparison, which was soon made the completer by a premature death under the walls of the Canadian capital. Montgomery, after being foiled by one party of Indians, was joined by another—by the very 700 warriors of the Five Nations whose services General Carleton had rejected. It was now the middle of September, yet he resolved to advance immediately, and lay siege to Fort St. John, the only place of arms that covered Montreal. But at the same time Ethan Allen, the captor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, fancied he could take Montreal, by a *coup-de-main*, in an easier direction; and, crossing the river St. Lawrence by night, about three miles below Montreal, with about 150 men, he was making sure of his prize when he was suddenly attacked by Major Campbell, beaten, and taken prisoner. All the regular force that Campbell had with him consisted of about thirty-six men, of the 26th Regiment; but the town's-people of Montreal, and other French Canadians in the neighbourhood, had joined him with heart and hand, and had enabled him to take captive the adventurous Presbyterian. In the meantime General Montgomery had reached the St. Lawrence at another point, and had detached 300 men, with two six-pounders, to reduce Fort Chamblée, situated on the tributary river Sorel, or Iroquois, or Richelieu, about five miles above Fort St. John. While Montgomery lay on the right bank of the river, General Carleton made a very injudicious and very unsuccessful attempt to dislodge him, trying to effect a landing at the only place where resistance was to be expected. Fort Chamblée was occupied by about 160 men and some artillery, under the command of Major Stopford, who made a shameful defence, and surrendered on the 3rd of November, when the Americans are said to have been reduced almost to their last round of shot. But they found plenty of ball and

powder, cartridges, and stands of arms in the fort, which would have been destroyed before the surrender, if Stopford had done his duty. These timely supplies were forwarded with all speed to Montgomery, who pressed the siege of St. John's with great vigour. Colonel Maclean, with part of a regiment, hastily formed out of Highland emigrants, had advanced to the relief of the place; but, as General Carleton could not form a junction with him, and as he received information that Arnold, with another American army, was approaching Point Levy, he embarked his men, and retreated down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, to stop Arnold's progress. Montgomery then occupied the post Maclean had abandoned, and erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the St. Lawrence. He also made rafts and booms, in order to prevent Carleton from sending down armed vessels from Montreal. Upon this Major Preston, who commanded in St. John's, seeing all hopes of relief cut off, and his provisions and ammunition almost consumed, surrendered unconditionally to the Americans, with upwards of 500 regulars, and about 100 Canadian volunteers, who had behaved loyally and gallantly. The fall of St. John's, and the loss of the command of the river, left Montreal incapable of defence. Carleton, with a fragment of his little army—the merest handful of men,—made a forced march along the right bank of the St. Lawrence, to succour Quebec, which had been left in a miserably weak condition; and on the 13th of November Montgomery dashed across the river, and entered Montreal without opposition. It was now Montgomery's object to get to Quebec as quickly as possible, in order to join Arnold, under the walls of that place; but many of his volunteers had had enough of this hazardous and most laborious campaign, and they quitted his ranks by hundreds, to get back to their own fire-sides in Connecticut. He had been obliged to leave garrisons at Forts Chamblée and St. John, in order to keep open the communication with the united provinces, to keep down the Canadians and Indians, and hold in check the British garrisons at Detroit and Niagara; he

was now compelled to leave another garrison at Montreal; and, when he put the remainder of his force in marching order, he found it did not exceed 400 men.

While Montgomery is descending the St. Lawrence we may call attention to the far more remarkable movements of Arnold. Starting from Cambridge, the head-quarters of the army blockading Boston, the bold horse-dealer marched 130 miles to the northward of Boston, and embarked (with 1200 men, consisting chiefly of New Englanders, about a thousand pounds in money, and a whole cargo of manifestos, to be distributed among the Canadians), on the rough and tortuous river Kennebec, which takes its rise from Lake St. Pierre, or Moosehead Lake, on the eastern declivity of the bleak mountain-range which separates Maine from Canada and the St. Lawrence. To *ascend* this river against the current, and among rocks and shoals, was tedious and most laborious work; the stream in a great part of its course had never been surveyed; and Arnold found that there were numerous falls and rapids, and that the river was not navigable up to the lake. Colonel Enos, his second in command, after getting embarrassed in the windings of the Dead River, a branch of the Kennebec, gave up the enterprise in despair, and returned with one-third of the detachment to head-quarters at Cambridge. Quitting the river, Arnold forced his way through swamps, forests, savannahs—across a dismal wilderness as yet untrodden by the foot of the white man, and where for two-and-thirty long days he neither saw habitation, wigwam, nor any other sign of human life. Owing to all these obstacles he did not reach the first Canadian settlements on the river Chaudière, which flows into the St. Lawrence nearly opposite to Quebec, until the 3rd of November. He then divided his half-famished troops into separate companies, each of which ran on as fast as it could to obtain food, shelter, and rest, in the thinly-inhabited part of the country, near the mouth of the Chaudière. Arnold rested for two or three days at a little village, in order to circulate his manifestos, promises, and friendly assurances among the Canadians,

and to allow his rear and stragglers to come up; and it was not until the 9th of November that he reached Point Levy, on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, and immediately opposite to the town of Quebec. On the 14th, at the dead of night, a hurricane having abated, Arnold embarked his men in canoes, which had been collected, and ascending the stream, and eluding the vigilance of the English ships and boats, he crossed the St. Lawrence and landed, without being discovered, about a mile and a-half above the spot where the gallant Wolfe had disembarked in circumstances equally desperate. It is quite clear that he must have been greatly indebted either to the negligence or to the stupidity of his opponents. Finding the rugged cliffs above his landing-place inaccessible, Arnold marched down the shore to Wolfe's Cove, and with his followers climbed the very same precipice which the English hero had ascended. Like Wolfe, too, Arnold formed his men on the heights of Abraham. They were nearly all armed with rifles, but artillery they had none. When the Highlanders discovered them, they proposed to march out with some Canadians and English veterans, and attack them; but Colonel Maclean wisely kept his little force within the town. Arnold then sent two flags, to use bold language with the colonel in summoning him to surrender the place, and gentle language with the townspeople, in order to induce them to open the gates; but old Maclean refused to receive his flags, and fired on those who bore them. At the same time the veteran Scot armed a considerable number of the respectable townspeople, who seemed determined to fight for their houses and their property; and he brought up some sailors and placed them on the batteries. There were thus as many men under arms within Quebec as Arnold could count in his whole army. Siege and assault were therefore hopeless; and he retired to Point Aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, to await there the arrival of Montgomery. At Point Aux Trembles Arnold was very near taking prisoner General Carleton and his staff, who had only quitted that place a few hours before the

arrival of the Americans.* But Carleton having escaped this danger, got into Quebec before Montgomery reached Point Aux Trembles from Montreal, and set instantly about making every possible preparation for a vigorous defence. When the two American corps joined, their united numbers did not exceed eleven, or at the most twelve, hundred men; but Montgomery had brought a little artillery with him from Montreal; and now he and Arnold marched together, to lay immediate siege to Quebec. On or about the 20th of December they opened a six-gun battery within seven hundred yards of the walls; but their artillery was too light to make a breach—their heaviest guns were only twelve-pounders; and all the six were soon dismounted by the town guns, fired by the seamen under the direction of Colonel Maclean, who continued to behave with indefatigable diligence, ability, and intrepidity. The Americans removed their guns to a safer distance, and continued their ineffectual fire, with the hope of amusing the garrison and concealing their design of making an assault in another direction. Many of the New Englanders thought the scheme too dangerous, and were against taking any part in it, until their imaginations were captivated and heated by the prospect held out to them of plundering Quebec, in which they knew a very large amount of property was collected. The men then agreed to do what their officers wished; and without their consent there would have been no doing anything, for these early American armies paid little respect to the will of their commanders. On the last day of the year, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and in the midst of a violent storm of wind and snow, they divided themselves into four small columns. This was the final result of the combined attack—Montgomery was killed, Arnold was sorely wounded, Colonel Morgan surrendered with 340 riflemen, and the assail-

* Some three months before this General Carleton and his aide-de-camp, Lord Pitt, were within a quarter of an hour of falling into the hands of one *Jeremiah Duggan*, formerly a barber, but now a major in the provincials!

ants were thoroughly defeated. Between sixty and seventy Americans fell in this daring attempt; but the loss most generally deplored was that of the handsome, gallant Montgomery. The day after the fatal attack his body was found torn by three mortal wounds. By the order of General Carleton, it was interred with the honours due to an officer of rank.* The remainder of the American army retired three or four miles from Quebec, and encamped in the best manner they could behind the heights of Abraham, with the intention of distressing the garrison, by cutting off supplies and ingratiating themselves with the Canadians. Carleton and Maclean were soon strong enough to have driven them beyond the St. Lawrence; but they preferred waiting until spring should open the navigation of that river, and bring such a force as would enable them to act continuously and extensively on the offensive. Arnold, though suffering severely from his wound, and though abandoned by many of his men, who deserted to their homes, retained his courage and activity, and must have exercised considerable genius or address to maintain himself in that isolated position, as he did for four long wintry months.

In the great southern state of Virginia Lord Dunmore, the governor, had made a determined but ineffectual struggle in support of the authority of the northern country. Patrick Henry, the orator, encouraged by the news of the first affair at Lexington, excited the young Virginians to fly to arms, and he put himself at the head of some volunteers. His lordship was compelled to deliver up all the arms and powder that had been left on shore, and to retreat in the middle of the night, with his family, to the *Powey* man-of-war, then lying at York

* Richard Montgomery was not by birth an American. He was born of a good family, in the North of Ireland, had borne the king's commission in the last war, and had served with some distinction against the French in Canada. After the peace he purchased an estate in the colony of New York, and married an American lady, the daughter of Livingstone, who became one of the leaders of the revolution.

Town. The animosities of the Virginia planters had long been carried to the height of a frenzy against Dunmore on two special accounts.

In letters which had been laid before the English parliament, and published to the whole world, he had represented the planters as ambitious, selfish men, pursuing their own interests and advancement at the expense of their poorer countrymen, and as being ready to make every sacrifice of honesty and principle; and he had said more privately that, since they were so anxious for liberty—for more freedom than was consistent with the free institutions of the mother-country and the charter of the colony—that since they were so eager to abolish a fanciful slavery in a dependence on Great Britain, he would try how they liked an abolition of real slavery by setting free all their negroes and indentured servants, who were, in fact, little better than *white* slaves. This, to the Virginians, was like passing a rasp over a gangrened place; it was probing a wound that was incurable, or which has not yet been healed. Later in the year, when the battle of Bunker's Hill had been fought, when our forts on Lake Champlain had been taken from us, and when Montgomery and Arnold were pressing on our possessions in Canada, Lord Dunmore carried his threat into execution. Having established his head-quarters at Norfolk, he proclaimed freedom to all the slaves who would repair to his standard and bear arms for the king. The summons was readily obeyed by most of the negroes who had the means of escaping to him. He, at the same time, issued a proclamation, declaring martial law throughout the colony of Virginia; and he collected a number of armed vessels, which cut off the coasting-trade, made many prizes, and greatly distressed an important part of that province.

The Royalists, after being defeated in a sanguinary skirmish, burned the prosperous town of Norfolk to the ground. Lord Dunmore lingered in the Chesapeake river or on the coast till the following summer, when, unable any longer to obtain provisions, he set sail with his flotilla and joined the main body of the English army.

As long as his flag remained in sight, many of the Virginians, averse to the revolution, or to its leaders, indulged the hope that the cause of government might prevail; and, when he departed by water, many others prepared to follow him by land, conscious that there was no safety for men of their political principles.

In the meanwhile Dr. Franklin had arrived at Philadelphia from England; and congress, though still delaying their proclamation of absolute independence, had been pursuing a course which no longer left their intentions doubtful to any man. They had been in session from the 10th of May, with John Hancock, the owner of the 'Liberty' sloop, for their president; they had formed the plan of a confederation and perpetual union, the chief articles of which were:—1. That the name of the confederacy should henceforth be the UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA. 2. That they bound themselves and their posterity for their common defence against their enemies, the security of their liberties, their mutual and general welfare, &c. 3. That each colony should enjoy and retain as much as it might think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and peculiar jurisdiction, within its own limits; and might amend its own constitution as should seem best to its own assembly or convention. 4. That, for the management of general interests, delegates should be elected annually in each colony, to meet in general congress. 5. That the power of the congress should extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great Britain, the settling all disputes between colony and colony, and the planting of new colonies where judged proper, &c., &c. 6. That all the charges of the war, &c., should be defrayed out of a common treasury, which should be supplied by each colony in proportion to its population. 7. That the number of delegates sent to the congress should be one to every 5000 males. 8. That, at every meeting of the congress, one-half of the members, or the delegates returned, exclusive of proxies, should be necessary to make a quorum. 9. That an executive council should be appointed by the congress out of their own body,

consisting of twelve persons, &c. 10. That no colony should engage in an offensive war with any nation, or tribe of Indians, without the consent of congress. 11. That a perpetual alliance, *offensive and defensive*, should be entered into, as soon as might be, with the six Indian nations, &c. 12. That, as all new institutions are liable to imperfections, which only time and experience can discover, the general congress should, from time to time, propose such amendments as might be found necessary; and that these amendments, being approved by a majority of the colonial assemblies, should be equally binding upon the rest. 13. And that every colony of Great Britain in America, not at present engaged in the association, might, upon application, be received into the confederacy, viz., Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, and the East and West Floridas, and should thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of the union, with mutual assistance and commerce.

After drawing up this plan of confederacy, the general congress created a paper currency, to have course throughout the united colonies. They next attended to the army; and in a fortunate moment for themselves, looking over the heads of those who were commanding in the lines round Boston, they fixed upon Colonel George Washington to be their commander-in-chief. A committee was then appointed to prepare a declaration of the causes that induced them to take up arms against the mother-country. A few weeks after Jefferson was placed on a committee with Dr. Franklin, Samuel Adams, and Richard Henry Lee, to consider and report on Lord North's pacificatory resolutions, which had already been rejected and scouted by the provincial conventions separately, and which were now to be denounced by the general congress representing them all. Jefferson, who had drawn up the answer of the Virginia assembly, was intrusted with the preparing this report, which was considered as the ultimatum of congress.

Notwithstanding the zeal of the movement party in New York, who had sent delegates to congress, and who had been among the very first to attack the British

settlements in Canada, great uneasiness continued to be felt with respect to that colony, which was not only defenceless and open to the king's troops by sea, but was also inhabited by many very zealous Royalists. A *Committee of Safety*, consisting of some of the most determined of the revolutionists, was appointed to take especial charge of the province; and other Committees of Safety (the pretypes of *Les Comités de Salut Public* of the French republicans) were appointed in many other parts of the continent, with powers that were not very nicely limited, or with members too ardent to submit to any limitations in working out the great cause of independence. Congress also appointed General Wooster, commanding some regiments of Connecticut men, to march into New York, with the double object of keeping down the Royalists and preventing, if possible, the landing of any British troops. The Connecticut men, however, did not enter the city; but quartered themselves near Haerlem, five miles off. Their presence did far more harm than good to the cause; it led to some severe quarrels between Connecticut men and New Yorkers; it provoked the naval force in the neighbouring waters; and it might have ended in causing New York to be reduced to a heap of ashes like Norfolk. The provincial congress, which was said to include not a few real Tories and many timid Whigs, continued to allow provisions to be carried to the English ships of war. This conduct exasperated the general congress and all the friends of revolution; and it was in vain that they represented the danger they were in of having their town burnt about their ears and their property destroyed by the English ships. Many of the more ardent New Yorkers retreated into Connecticut to join the partisans of freedom in that colony. At the same time the Committee of Safety, by command of the general congress, had adopted, and were carrying into execution, the violent revolutionary measures of breaking open people's houses in search of arms. The functionaries of the Committee of Safety encountered, however, a stern, and in many instances a successful, resistance,

though it appears that they were occasionally assisted by a whole battalion of troops. Though much more oppressed and kept down by their own countrymen of the revolutionary party than were those of the revolutionary party by the presence of a few English ships of war, many of the citizens of New York continued hearty in their aversion to congress and in their attachment to the mother-country. The disposition of the colony became so alarming to congress that a resolution was moved for seizing and carrying off the governor of New York. Tryon, however, had friends among that potent body, and he was defended so warmly by some of the delegates of New York that the proposition was dropped. But in the month of October, when it was universally reported that defection from the American cause was increasing in the colony, congress recurred to the subject and adopted a revolutionary measure even stronger than the previous order for seizing the arms; in the gentle form of a recommendation they intimated to the members of the revolutionary governments in the several provinces, that they were "to arrest and secure every person in the respective colonies whose going at large might, *in their opinion*, endanger the safety of the colony, or the liberties of America." Warned in time, Governor Tryon retired for security on board the Halifax packet. In the other colonies, where the Royalists were fewer, and where there were no English ships of war to sustain their hopes, they were more cautious in declaring their sentiments. As there was scarcely a British soldier anywhere except at Boston and in Canada, the Americans found little difficulty in sweeping away the king's governors, of whom not one made so steady an attempt at resistance as Lord Dunmore had done. We turn to the American hero, who was now commanding the revolutionary army, and obliging the English generals to keep their force undivided.

When the quarrel with the mother-country began, Washington did not, for some time, seem to take any very decided part; and when it became serious, he was certainly neither among those who first foresaw, nor

among those who first wished for, a separation from the mother-country and an absolute independence. As late as the 9th of October, 1774, he wrote to a friend serving in the king's army, " You are taught to believe that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious; setting up for independency, and what not: give me leave, my good friend, to tell you that you are abused. . . . Give me leave to add, and I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that government, or of any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence."

When these assertions proceed from Jefferson, Jay, Hancock, Samuel Adams, or even Franklin, we have no faith in their sincerity, and can, in many instances, prove them insincere, by contrary declarations proceeding at the same time from the pens or lips of those very men; but we have that confidence in the honour, straightforwardness, and want of political cunning of George Washington, which compels us to believe that he really spoke his sincere sentiments. We can also believe—what is asserted over and over again, and many times lamented by the revolutionary leaders—that the mass of the American people had for a long time no notion of the grand result in view, but were only brought by degrees, and by force of circumstances, to enter into the scheme which went to destroy all their past, and to leave them without historical connexion or tradition, without a literature they could call their own, without an ancestry—a strange new people on the face of the earth. Washington, moreover, was decidedly a man of aristocratic tastes, habits, and feelings, not likely in many things to sympathize with the democratic leaders; and, being little or nothing of an orator, he was ill fitted to rule "the fierce democracy" in popular assembly. But when the appeal was made to arms, when he called upon by his countrymen as the first soldier of America, he shut his eyes to many signs and indications which he disapproved, and took the field, in the belief that, when he should have beaten the English for the English king and ministers would forego their

and redress the grievances complained of, and that thereupon the Americans would rest satisfied and happy. He loved military rank and the business of war, but to money (of which his countrymen had little to spare) he was nobly indifferent. He declined the pay and emoluments offered him as commander-in-chief, promised to keep an exact account of his expenses while on service, and expressed a confident hope that congress would reimburse them. At this time George Washington was in the prime and vigour of life—in his forty-third year—and his constitution, hardened by his past campaigns, seemed capable of bearing any fatigue. His other personal advantages were many and striking: he possessed a frank and noble countenance, a tall and most manly figure, a dignified carriage, and a naturally commanding deportment, which imposed respect and obedience on the rabble part of the revolution, exacting reverence even from the fanatics of New England, who acknowledged no superior save the Lord of Hosts. A braver man, or one more resolute in action, never drew sword in any cause; and we are, indeed, after an attentive examination of all his campaigns, disposed to agree with several of his contemporaries, who maintained that courage was a feature more predominant in his character than prudence or military skill. As compared with most of the men our ministers sent against him, he may deserve to be called a good general; but we are humbly of opinion that facts about to be narrated will prove that he was absolutely deficient in the highest and most intellectual qualities which constitute a great strategist—that he was not one of those mighty masters in the art of war whom nature produces in the whole world once or twice in a century, and in some centuries not at all.

On arriving at head-quarters in Cambridge, at the beginning of July, he found the blockading army considerably discouraged by the defeat sustained at Bunker's Hill, and otherwise in no very good condition. There was little or no discipline, and very little gunpowder. If during this time the English had made a general assault, the Americans must inevitably have been beaten

from all their positions; but our generals preferred remaining where they were and doing nothing, and Washington was allowed time to procure powder from New Jersey and other places. The blockading army were also without tents, without clothing, without shoes to their feet; but the energy of Washington soon induced congress to supply these wants as far as they could, and to appoint a commissary-general, an officer who had hitherto been wanting. General Gage was recalled in the month of October, when the chief command devolved upon General Howe. Everything by land wore a bad aspect; but as yet few of the English would believe that they could ever be driven out of Boston by Washington's army. By sea our supremacy was undoubted, though the coast began to swarm with privateers and vessels of various kinds with letters of marque from congress, which were frequently successful in picking up our merchant vessels and transports.

As the governor of Georgia had been left without troops, he was beaten out of the field by a republican parson, the Reverend Doctor Zubly, who at first proceeded with no small degree of cunning. After the eagerly-coveted accession of Georgia, congress assumed the style of "THE THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES." They established a post-office to reach from Falmouth in Massachusetts to Savannah, in Georgia, and unanimously elected to be their postmaster-general BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, whose return to America had given vigour and consistency to their schemes, and an unrivalled share of ability to their councils.

While these events were passing in America, the City of London was much agitated by Lord Mayor Wilkes and his party. Wilkes presented another violent address and remonstrance of the livery to the king, complaining that they plainly perceived a real design to establish arbitrary power over all America, and to uproot the constitution at home; and calling for the instant dismissal of ministers, &c. On the 11th of October a body purporting to be "the gentlemen merchant and traders of London," presented another address, mentioning

and petition to his majesty on the very alarming state of public affairs. This paper attributed everything that had happened in America to the acts of the British parliament, and predicted the most lasting and deadly consequences from the quarrel. The Americans had employed and were actually employing the wild Indians in the field, and hitherto our officers had declined the services of those savage allies; but, as if by way of prelude to the Earl of Chatham's lofty denunciation on this subject, the petitioners expressed their indignation and horror at hearing that barbarous nations were encouraged to take arms against our American brethren. But, only three days after, a counter-address was presented by a deputation from another set of the merchants and traders of London. This paper, which served as a model to many others that soon followed from various parts of the United Kingdom, expressed the deepest concern of the addressers at the unjustifiable proceedings of some of his majesty's colonies in America, and entire disapprobation and abhorrence of these acts of rebellion, with the most solemn assurances that they would support his majesty with their lives and fortunes in maintaining the authority of the legislature of this country, which, they conceived, ought to extend to every part of the British dominions. This paper bore 941 signatures; and, a few days after, the liverymen of the City of London, among whom John Wilkes had lost his ascendancy, to the number of 1029, signed another ultra-loyal address, expressing their deepest concern at observing that their fellow-subjects in America were now in open rebellion. For a time it rained addresses of this kind; some of them procured, no doubt, by ministerial influence, but many most undoubtedly proceeding spontaneously from the hearts of the people, among whom no subject was now so frequently discussed as the bloody affair of Bunker's Hill. The exasperation was, of course, increased a few months later when intelligence was received of the invasion of Canada, and of the attempts made by the Americans to reverse the great and boasted conquest made in Chatham's brilliant war. Not a few Englishmen, indeed, were

converted by this attempt, believing that, though the Americans might be justified in defending themselves on their own ground, if attacked, they could scarcely plead any right to invade a province which was at peace, and wished to remain so, or to begin their military career by aiming at conquest and enlargement of territory. In this trying time parliament was assembled much earlier than had been common of late years; and when it met, on the 26th of October, the speech from the throne was unusually long and energetic.

There was indisputably more than one thing in this speech which no enlightened Englishman could or ought to approve. An amendment to the address of thanks proposed by ministers, which was, as usual, an echo of the speech, was moved by Lord John Cavendish, recommending that every word should be left out except the *pro formâ* introductory paragraph. This motion brought on a series of long, animated, and acrimonious debates, in the course of which the royal speech was taken to pieces, and every part of it severely scrutinized. Ministers were charged with having brought their sovereign into the most disgraceful and unhappy situation of any monarch now living—with having wrested the sceptre of America out of his hands—with having lost one-half of the empire, and thrown the other into a state of confusion and anarchy. Colonel Barré said that they had conducted the late campaign in America like fools and madmen. Fox said that not the Earl of Chatham, not Frederick the Great, nay, not even Alexander the Great, had ever gained so much in one campaign as ministers had lost—for they had lost a whole continent. Other members denied that the colonists had acted with duplicity or mental reservation; denied that they were collecting a naval force; denied, *even now*, that they were aiming at independence. Lord North, who had been asked repeatedly, in the course of these harangues how he could dare remain in office after so many failures and such an accumulation of disgrace, stood up to defend the conduct of ministers, and to proclaim again what had been all along the real intention of the American

at the least, the intention of the leaders of their revolution. He asked whether congress, while pretending merely a redress of grievances, had not forcibly seized all the powers of government—whether, while sending pretended petitions (petitions which honourable gentlemen called humble, respectful, *sincere*), they had not raised armies, and taken all measures for keeping them on foot—whether they were not actually waging war in all its forms against this country, at the very instant that they were hypocritically pretending to owe a constitutional obedience to her? Lord North insisted, that to repeal every act passed relating to the colonies since the year 1763, as many gentlemen proposed, would indeed terminate the dispute, for from that moment America would be an independent state. But neither the country nor that house—not even the opposition members—were prepared to admit the principle of disseverance and independence. At half-past four in the morning Lord John Cavendish's amendment was rejected by a majority of 278 against 108; and the original question then being put, the motion for the address was carried without a division.

In the House of Lords the Marquess of Rockingham moved an amendment on the address similar to that of Lord John Cavendish. The debate there was equally warm. Lord Dartmouth, as secretary for American affairs, admitted that the late proceedings had been unsuccessful, but said that this had arisen from causes out of the reach of any ministerial foresight. The arguments on the side of ministers were much the same as those employed in the Commons; but they spoke with greater freedom of a desperate faction and of incendiaries at home, to whom they attributed the progress of rebellion

America. They insisted that the numerous loyal addresses which had come up from all parts of England and Scotland were the full and free voice of the people, tainted without any manœuvre or exercise of influence, and really expressive of the sense of the nation with regard to the American quarrel, and the necessity of defending the sovereignty, the dignity, and rights of the mother-country.

On the report of the address in the Commons, the Opposition went over nearly the whole ground again, making a main stand on the illegality of sending Hanoverian troops to our colonies. Lord Barrington, as secretary-at-war, had given excellent advice as to the whole management of the war in America; and this advice, if not absolutely rejected, had certainly not been followed. The noble secretary-at-war had now grown heartily sick of his post, and was anxious to resign. Lord Barrington, however, for the present, consented to drag on with the ministry; but the Duke of Grafton, in consequence of some decided speeches, was turned out. The privy seal, which his grace had held, was given to Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state for the colonies; and, to the indignation of most men, and the astonishment of still more, Lord George Germaine—the proud, imperious, unpopular Sackville—who had been shifting and changing between the ministerial benches and opposition, but who of late had taken a decided part in all the coercive measures which had been adopted, was made secretary for the colonies, and entrusted with the management of American affairs. At the same time the Earl of Rochford retired, and was succeeded as secretary of state for the southern department by Lord Weymouth; and a few days after “the wicked” Lord Lyttelton, who had distinguished himself at the opening of the session by the severity of his attacks upon administration, was called to the privy council and appointed to the sinecure office of chief justice in eyre beyond Trent. This also astonished most people, who knew the shameful irregularities of Lyttelton’s life and conduct, and the strictness of the king as to all moral observances. But George III. had been obliged before now to admit into his cabinet and court lords equally depraved or irregular. Lyttelton renounced his close connexion with Cha and Temple, agreed to defend the very measures he attacked, and had eloquence and abilities well worth price.*

* There were also some new court appointments. Pelham was made keeper of the great wardrobe, and Ashburnham groom of the stole.

As early as the 30th of October Lord North had brought in a bill, in conformity with a passage in the speech from the throne, for enabling the king to assemble the militia in cases of actual rebellion. Upon the second reading there was a warm debate upon it. In the end, however, the Militia Bill was carried, with a rider, proposed by Sir George Saville and not opposed by ministers, limiting the duration of the bill to seven years.

On the 16th of November, Burke made his famous motion for leave to bring in a bill for composing the present troubles, and quieting the minds of his majesty's subjects in America. Still confident that the Americans were not aiming at a separate political existence, but would be thoroughly satisfied with a redress of grievances, Burke proposed the total renunciation of the right of taxing, the repeal of all obnoxious laws and acts of parliament passed since the year 1766, an entire amnesty for all offences, and a recognition of the congress, in order to a final adjustment of all and every part of the quarrel. Charles Fox, Sir George Saville, and all the best orators on the side of opposition warmly supported Burke, but he was outvoted by a majority of just two to one, the numbers being 210 against 105. Four days after this ministers brought in a bill for absolutely prohibiting all commercial intercourse with America. Lord North explained a clause respecting commissioners who were to be sent out by the crown on a redressing and pacifying mission. In vindicating his own ministerial conduct his lordship very justly observed that the dispute about taxation was not begun by him, but by his predecessors in office; that he had found the parliament and country determined not to surrender that right; and that, if the colonies, by appealing to arms, chose to make war the medium, he must pursue it through that medium, although he would constantly keep peace in view as the true point to be obtained.

A.D. 1776.—Lord Temple, who again differed, *toto* *elo*, with his brother-in-law, Chatham, delivered a very remarkable speech, strongly reprobating the violence and

un-nationality of Opposition, and reminding them that few or none among them could condemn the war, and what had passed in America, without condemning their own registered votes, their own recorded speeches, the whole course, or material parts, of their own political conduct. He said with much warmth: "I have heard this war called unjust. I know not who, in this House, has a right to call it so: not those who voted for the declaratory act; those only who denied our right of taxation; and how very few were they! I cannot approve of recalling troops, and publishing the terms to which you will yield, till there is reasonable assurance of your terms not being *absolutely rejected by the Americans*. Uncommon sagacity and discretion are necessary to the attainment of what all must eagerly wish: when the happy moment for conciliation shall arrive, I hope ministers will seize it; I wish them success: at least, at such a crisis I will not hang on the wheels of government, rendering that which already is but too difficult, the more impracticable." His lordship also spoke of the certain effect of the harangues of Opposition on the excited minds of the colonists. "The next easterly wind," said he, "will carry to America every imprudent expression used in this debate. I do not wish that the nakedness and weakness of my country should stand confirmed by the authority and sanction of testimonies given in this House! It is a time to act, not to talk: much should be done; little said!" But the Opposition, whether in the Upper or Lower House, continued to talk, and in the same strain; and nearly every speech they delivered was an encouragement to the Americans, who felt convinced that a large part of parliament and the nation detested the war, and were resolved to thwart it; and that a people so divided could never prosecute the war successfully. Nearly all these Opposition speeches, moreover, assured the Americans—of which they were making pretty sure by other means—that assistance of France would not only not be denied them but would be granted with alacrity.

During these weighty deliberations Chatham remained in the country; but he carried into effect a measure

seemed purposely calculated to throw odium on the war. He had sent out his eldest son, Lord Pitt (who, many years afterwards, distinguished himself by his military incapacity at Walcheren), to serve in Canada with General Carleton. He had ever considered Canada as his own conquest, and as the brightest achievement of his ministry (it was the real cause of more than half the mischief that was now befalling us); and there seemed a propriety in the son helping to defend what the father had gained. He had also expressed a wish that Lord Pitt might learn the business of a soldier in a good school and *in active service*. Yet, in the month of July, in the preceding year, when he must have known that Ethan Allen and Arnold had captured our forts on the lakes, and that the Americans were meditating an invasion of Canada, he commissioned his wife to express to Major Caldwell, an officer on Carleton's staff, the family doubts as to the propriety of Pitt's remaining to fight against the Americans. The countess told Major Caldwell that her husband gave Lord Pitt a *free power* to decide upon his own situation; and that she herself would be equally miserable to have his sword drawn against the convictions of his own conscience, or to have him do anything contrary to his military honour. General Carleton seems to have considered that the thing expected from him as a friend, and the best thing he could do, was to send the young lord home; and, accordingly, the aide-de-camp, who had gone to learn the art of war in the best school, and who had only been in Canada a few months, was sent home with despatches. At first no *public* hint was given of any such intention; but on the 14th of February, when Opposition was carrying on their hottest attacks in parliament, Chatham, by the hand of his wife, intimated to General Carleton, that, from his fixed opinion with regard to the continuance of the unhappy war with our fellow subjects of America, he found it necessary to take a decisive but painful step, which was to withdraw his son altogether from such a service. Thus the king's commission was thrown in his face, and the country was given to believe that this must, indeed, be an execrable

and hopeless war, since the minister who had conquered Canada could withdraw his own son from its defence !*

On the 22nd of May, the day before that fixed for the prorogation, General Conway made a motion for inspecting the powers vested in his majesty's commissioners proceeding to America : and on the 23rd, at the moment the king was expected in the House of Lords, Mr. Hartley moved an address praying that parliament might not be prorogued at all, but continue sitting by adjournments during the summer, in order that they might be ready to receive information, and take measures without loss of time for every important emergency. Both these motions were negatived without a division. In his speech proroguing parliament the king confidently asserted that no alteration whatever had taken place, or was likely to take place, in his friendly relations with foreign powers.

From the 1st of January to the 1st of March very few arrived at Arnold's blockading camp ; but the weather then began to open, and by the 1st of April the force in Canada was raised to 1800 men. But an enemy they had not counted upon instantly made its attacks and thinned their ranks : this was the small-pox. As coined money did not arrive, Arnold issued a proclamation making the paper-money of congress current, under promise of redeeming it with gold and silver in four months, and threatening with destruction all such persons as should dare refuse this paper in exchange for their commodities or labour. The French Canadians had no faith either in the paper or in Arnold's promises ; and his attempts to obtain credit by force only insured him hatred and vengeance. The troops helped themselves to what they wanted : they told the Canadians that they were come to liberate them from tyranny oppression ; but the Canadians did not understand logic, and thought that they had come only to plir

* Chat Corres. The resignation of Lord Pitt was piously announced in the newspapers, with abundant commendations and reflections on the sad event.

them. To increase these sentiments of hearty hatred, the New Englanders laughed at the Catholic church ceremonies, and insulted some of the priests.

In this state of things, and with the certainty that Quebec would be relieved by reinforcements from England as soon as the St. Lawrence should become navigable, Arnold again set up his contemptible battery before the walls of the capital of Canada; but, so far from making any impression, he could scarcely keep his guns in their places; and when, on the 1st of April, General Wooster arrived as his superior in command, he took offence, and retired to Montreal to assume a separate command there. He was scarcely gone when many of the Americans left the army and returned home, stating that the time for which they had engaged was expired. General Thomas, who was appointed to the supreme command, did not arrive till the 1st of May. The force then amounted, numerically, to about 2000 men; but many of these were not effective, and many more were looking homeward. The magazines, it is said, were almost void of provisions and insufficiently supplied with gunpowder. To complete Thomas's dilemma he saw the river beginning to open below, and heard that English ships of war, which could not fail to deprive him of the use of the river, were every day expected. On the 5th of May he called a council of war, which unanimously resolved not only that there was no hope of taking Quebec, but that there was no hope of saving themselves except by an immediate retreat! Thomas, therefore, began to remove the sick to the Three Rivers, and to embark his artillery and stores in boats and canoes. On the following morning, before these operations were completed, three English ships, which had forced their way through the ice with great difficulty and danger, arrived before Quebec. These vessels were filled with transports of joy by the garrison: they instantly threw on shore two companies of the 29th regiment, about 100 marines, and a few sailors. The Americans, who had thrown up no kind of entrenchment, began to fly without waiting to receive a shot. General

Carleton then sallied out upon them with nearly all his little force and with six field-pieces; but the enemy retreated so fast up the river that all he could do was to take their artillery and stores, about a hundred loiterers, and nearly all their sick, who had been left behind in the panic. Every possible care has been taken to give a different colour to this affair; but, words and varnish apart, it was, on the part of the Americans, a complete *débâcle*. Many of them were found afterwards concealed and starving in the neighbouring woods. Sick, wounded, and prisoners were all treated with great humanity. A very little fighting—chiefly of posts—drove Arnold and all the American officers, except a Colonel Butterfield, who surrendered at discretion, back into their own provinces. Canada was thus entirely freed from American arms; and the most energetic efforts were now making there for the recovery of Ticonderoga and the dominion of Lakes Champlain and St. George.*

But, in the meantime, nothing but disgrace had attended our main army at Boston. During the winter it had suffered many hardships and privations, but the worst suffering of all was that continued state of inactivity and torpor which commenced with the arrival of Gage, and which never terminated till the departure of Howe.† In the course of the month of December

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Marshall.—Ramsay.—Burke, in *Annual Register*.

† Notwithstanding the enormous expenses incurred for the support of this army, and the never-ending accounts of our commissaries and contractors, they had not even had a little fresh meat and vegetables to give to the sick and the wounded! Hence, and from the hot weather, a terrible increase of deaths. Captain Harris—afterwards Genl. Lord Harris—was among the sufferers. He had been dangerously wounded on the head in the American redoubt at Bunker's Hill, and had owed his life to the humanity, industry, and presence of mind of the late Marquess of Eglar, then Lord Rawdon, and a young lieutenant in Harris's company. Though an officer, and an admired one, Ha

the Americans made several advances on the besieged, and took almost undisputed possession of several important positions. Thus, Ploughed Hill, Cobble Hill, and Lechemere's Point were successively occupied and fortified: their approaches were carried within half a mile of the British works on Bunker's Hill, and their guns drove the British floating batteries from some of their stations, and protected other works which they constructed themselves. In the month of January a council of war was held in the American camp, which was attended by several members of congress; and it was resolved, "that a vigorous attempt ought to be made on the *ministerial* troops in Boston, before they can be reinforced in the spring, if the means can be provided, and a favourable opportunity should offer." And it was further put in the shape of an advice, "that thirteen regiments of militia should be asked for from Massachusetts and the neighbouring colonies, in order to put the army in a condition to make the attempt." The colonists were prompt in compliance, and the militia regiments assembled in the lines on the 1st and 2nd of February. But still Washington was obliged to wait, for the season just then was exceedingly mild, and he wanted ice to enable him to pass the river. About the middle of February the cold became intense, and the ice sufficiently strong to bear the troops. A council of war was then called to consider of an immediate assault upon Boston, Boston Neck, and Bunker's Hill; and they agreed almost unanimously that the attempt was too hazardous. At the end of February various appearances among the British troops seemed to indicate an intention of evacuating Boston, and Washington had received intelligence that a part of the British force there was expected at New York. General Howe, and the ministry at home, indeed, had become convinced, by this time, that there was no use in his staying where he was ;

could scarcely procure anything but salt pork and salt beef. The condition of the wounded privates he describes as most deplorable.—*Letters, in the Life and Services of General Lord Harris, by the Right Hon. S. R. Lushington.*

but he and they ought to have reflected on the unfavourable impressions and fatal effect of being driven out by the Americans as one beaten and conquered; and, having stayed there so long, he ought to have guarded against the particular line of attack which Washington was now meditating.* He ought to have been taught a lesson by the affair of Bunker's Hill—and yet there was another hill, the Heights of Dorchester, which commanded the shipping in the harbour and nearly the whole town; and of this hill he had taken no more care than had been taken of Bunker's Hill. On the 2nd of March the American general, who had received more powder, some bombs, and some heavy pieces of artillery, which had been brought from our captured forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, began a heavy bombardment and cannonade on the unfortunate town, and on the British lines, which was repeated on the following night, and still more furiously on the night of the 4th, which is said to have been particularly selected as the eve of the anniversary of the death of Crispus Attucks and the other *martyrs* who had fallen in the Boston riots of 1770. On this latter night, as soon as it was dark, and the artillery began to roar, Washington despatched General Thomas, with about 2000 men, an immense quantity of fascines, trusses of hay, and several pieces of artillery, to take possession of the Heights of Dorchester. Thomas, who was followed by 300 labourers, stole across a low isthmus (it might have been swept by English guns) without being perceived, got to the top of the heights without obstruction, and at day-

* Captain Harris, like a sensible man, had said, eight months before, that there could be no use staying in Boston, and that the proper way of prosecuting the war was by our navy and blockade, as had been recommended by Lord rington. "I have heard," said he, "that you are deterred to withdraw all troops from the colonies, and carry on war by sea only. This appears the only possible way of tressing them, as we can cut off every intercourse with nations, and, by that means, bring them to reason, at a smaller expense than it can possibly be effected by land." *Letter in Lushington's Life of General Lord Harris.*

dawn presented to the British precisely the same sudden spectacle they had witnessed before on Bunker's Hill—a redoubt, a breast-work, and a strongly though hastily fortified position.

Before they recovered from their stupor Thomas began to thunder at the town and at the ships of war, which were obliged to shift their anchorage; and all the while his unemployed soldiers worked with the labourers in digging trenches and raising other works to make the Heights of Dorchester still more formidable. General Howe saw that he must either dislodge Thomas or evacuate Boston. He resolved to attempt the former, and detached Lord Percy with 3000 men. These troops, which, to have had any chance of success, ought to have been double or triple the number, embarked in transports, and fell down to the castle in order to proceed thence up the river to a low strip of land at the foot of Dorchester Hill; but—fortunately we should say—a storm rose, and then the retiring tide made it impossible for the ships to approach the destined spot. Lord Percy and his men returned to the harbour, and nothing more could be done that day, but much remained to be suffered from the terrible fire kept up from Washington's lines and from Thomas's new position. And, in the meanwhile, Washington threw more and more men to the heights, and the New Englanders, encouraging each other with cries of "Remember the Fifth of March," rushed boldly forward to join and strengthen Thomas. Colonel Mifflin, who had some knowledge of engineering, with an inventive faculty which regular engineers do not always possess, went to the same spot, and by his advice General Thomas ordered his people to chain together, and fill with sand and stones, a number of hog-saddles which were to be rolled down the very steep hill upon the English, if they should attempt to march up—an effective contrivance, by which it was calculated whole columns would have been swept off at once. The storm continued during the night with a tremendous fall of rain, and it had scarcely abated the next morning. Howe, appears, again talked of clearing the Heights of

Dorchester; but the madness of any such attempt was soon made apparent even to his dull comprehension. It is said that, if he had again detached Lord Percy, Washington would have attacked Boston and Boston Neck—in which, however, we believe, he would have been as sure of repulse as Percy must have been. As matters were decided, Washington was left to the much safer operations of bombardment and cannonade, and these he continued without any regard to the buildings of the town. On the 8th of March a flag was sent out from the select men of Boston, acquainting General Washington that it was the intention of the troops to evacuate the place, and that General Howe was disposed to leave the town standing, provided he were allowed to retire without molestation. As this paper was not signed by Howe, Washington took no notice of it officially, but it appears that he instructed some of his people to intimate that the terms, if properly put, might be complied with. On the 14th strong barricades were erected in the streets leading down to the water side, and proclamation was made by the crier for the inhabitants to keep within their houses. It appears to have been also hinted, both in the town and in Washington's camp, that, if any attempt were made to hinder the embarkation, fire would be set to Boston, and everything in it destroyed. But no interruption was offered or attempted—the Americans thought it triumph enough to see him gone. In the course of the 15th and 16th, Howe, who would not condescend to any direct communication with Washington, embarked his luggage and a good part of his men, and by the morning of the 17th he got all that the ships could hold and carry safely on board, and at about 10 o'clock in the morning the squadron weighed anchor and sailed away. Besides his army he was obliged to e with him about 2000 American Tories or Royalists, preferred running any chance of danger to remain in the town at the mercy of their own countrymen of opposite party. He left behind him, for want of r in the ships, 250 pieces of cannon, half of which v serviceable, four large mortars, 150 horses, 25,000 b

of wheat, and a quantity of barley, oats, and other provisions, of which Washington's army stood greatly in want. He also left a considerable quantity of ammunition which ought to have been destroyed. His force, at the moment of the evacuation, did not much exceed 7,000 men, while Washington must have had from 25,000 to 30,000 men, counting regulars, militia, volunteer companies, and all. To complete all the woeful blunders which had been committed, Howe, in sailing away, left no cruiser in Boston Bay to warn the ships expected from England that the place was no longer in our possession; and a few days after several of our store-ships sailed right into the harbour, and fell into the hands of the Americans before they discovered that George Washington and not King George was master of Boston. One of these ships alone—the *Hope*—had on board 1500 barrels of gunpowder besides carbines, bayonets, gun-carriages, and all sorts of tools necessary for the army and artillery. In appropriating this much-wanted supply the jubilant New Englanders said it was the gift of Providence, whose doings were marvellous in their eyes! But still worse happened in consequence of Howe's unpardonable negligence. Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, with 700 men fresh from England, ran right into Boston harbour, not knowing but that the place was still in our hands. He was taken, of course, and became in the hands of the Americans a subject for severe and brutal retaliation. Before entering Boston, Washington, fancying that Howe intended to proceed with his whole force to New York, detached a considerable part of his army in that direction, with orders to march as quick as possible; and he soon sent the rest of his army by divisions to the same province. By the 1st of April Washington collected the whole army in the neighbourhood of New York. The revolutionary ty, with not so much as a single Tory to disturb their nimity, remained in peaceful possession of Boston. Instead of proceeding to New York, Howe had sailed to the eastward for Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where he lived soon and safely.

Earlier in the year than these events, signal ill success had attended the efforts of the Royalists, or government party, in North Carolina. No second attempt could be made to erect the royal standard in the Carolinas until the arrival of a force from England. At last, on the 3rd of May, Lord Cornwallis, with seven regiments of infantry, arrived on that coast in a squadron of transports, convoyed by Sir Peter Parker; and almost immediately after General Clinton arrived at Cape Fear and took the chief command of the troops. Clinton's instructions were to endeavour by proclamation and other means to induce the Carolinas to return to their allegiance; to inform himself accurately of the temper and disposition of those provinces; and, if he found the Royalists numerous enough and bold enough to take up arms, he was to leave a part of the forces there to assist them, and to repair with the rest of the troops to New York to meet the commander-in-chief, General Howe, who was to leave Halifax and be at New York some time in June. But Clinton, who might have changed the whole aspect of affairs if he had been there with anything like a force *three or four months* earlier, when the Highlanders and Regulators were up in arms, now found no encouragement, and no hopes of a co-operation. Tired of doing nothing, he and Parker resolved to do more than was in their commission, and, sailing away from Cape Fear, they ran down to Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, to capture or destroy that thriving town, whose trade supplied the two colonies with the nerves of war. On the 4th of June they arrived off Charlestown and took possession of Long Island. There they found willing Royalists, but they had all been disarmed by the revolutionary party in *the preceding month of January!* But there was another island, where, instead of disarmed Royalists, there were armed insurgents and tremen batteries; and this island defended Charlestown harl from which it was distant about half a mile; and, sad addition to Sullivan Island—such was the name the fatal place—there was a projecting point of lan the northward, called Hadrell's Point, which

touchèd the island, and which was now united to it by a bridge of boats, and Lee, late an English colonel, but now an American general, the rival of Washington, who had been for months watching Clinton's desultory movements, and following him from province to province, was encamped on that projecting point, with a force of 2500 regulars, about 3000 militia, and some artillery. Notwithstanding these formidable and unexpected appearances, Clinton persevered in his design: he constructed on Long Island two batteries, to answer those of the enemy, and to co-operate with the floating batteries destined to cover the landing of the troops on Sullivan Island. On the 28th of June, at half-past ten in the morning, Sir Peter Parker, in the Bristol, made the signal for action. His fleet, consisting of the Bristol, of 50 guns, the Experiment, of 50 guns, and the Active, Solebay, Actæon, Syren, and Sphynx, 28-gun frigates, the Thunder bomb, and the Friendship, an armed ship of 24 guns, soon came to anchor, with springs upon their cables, in front of the American fort, and opened a tremendous fire upon it. But misfortunes began early—no soundings had been taken, neither had the ground on the island been surveyed—three of the frigates got aground! Two hove off, but the third stuck fast, and became of little or no service. The fire of the British ships did not produce all the effect which had been expected, for the fortifications were far stronger than had been fancied, and their lowness preserved them in a great degree from the weight of our shot. They were ingeniously composed of palm-trees, earth, and other substances, and the merlons were of unusual thickness. During this long, hot, and obstinate conflict the seamen looked frequently to the eastward, expecting to see the land forces advance from Long Island, drive Lee from his entrenchments at Tadrell's Point, and come up to second the attack upon the fort. When the firing ceased, in the darkness of night, the Bristol and Experiment were left almost wrecks upon the water; and, when they counted their killed and wounded, they were found to be 111 on board the Bristol, and 79 on board the Experiment. The

frigates had not suffered a proportional loss, but two of them were sadly cut up in hull and rigging. As usual when sailors and soldiers are joined in an unsuccessful service, the popular disposition was to throw all the blame on the latter. General Clinton with the troops set sail on the 21st to join General Howe. He was escorted by the *Solebay* frigate, but the rest of the fleet was under the necessity of remaining some time at Long Island to refit.

In the meanwhile the revolution had been proceeding at an accelerated pace, and the insurgents, who could no longer conceal anything or derive any benefit from concealment, had ventured to announce the full extent of their design. On the 15th of May the continental congress sitting at Philadelphia resolved, "That it should be recommended to all the various assemblies and conventions in the United States of America, where no form of government adequate to the exigencies of affairs had yet been adopted, to establish such a constitution as should be most conducive to the public welfare and security." This vote was immediately published in the newspapers, with a preamble stating that, as his Britannic majesty had, with the concurrence of his parliament, excluded the inhabitants of the colonies from his protection, it became necessary and expedient to suppress and abolish the power and constitution which had been derived from that source. All this was virtually a declaration of independence. When the mask was off, several individuals, including some who had worn it the longest, put in rival claims for the honour of being the first to have originated the great idea. We cannot enter into the discussion of these rival claims; but several writers, Americans by birth and feeling, and popular with Americans, seem confidently to confer glory on BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, quoting words and sentences used by that philosopher many months before when he was still in England, and employing all his to make the Earl of Chatham and the other great orators of opposition as deaf as adders to the ministerial that he and his countrymen were aiming at nothing.

than independence. Mr. Josiah Quincy, writing from London in the month of November, 1774 (about two months before the philosopher went down to Hayes to cajole our great orator, and make Chatham believe that the famous conciliatory bill he was then preparing would be a good basis for negotiation, as all that was wanting was a redress of grievances, &c.), says, "Dr. Franklin is an American in heart and soul. *His ideas are not contracted within the narrow limits of exemption from taxes, but are extended upon the broad scale of total emancipation.* He is explicit and bold on the subject." The same American writers seem very generally disposed to admit that any premature disclosure of this extreme intention would have had a very injurious effect upon the temper of the American people; and they universally agree that even at the last moment it was necessary, except in the province of Massachusetts, to develop the plan of a total separation from the mother-country by degrees, and to take great pains in preparing the popular mind for its reception. And they also admit that it was an English pen that rendered the most effective service in this particular, and that Thomas Paine, the well-known author of the 'Rights of Man' and the 'Age of Reason,' contributed more than any man to convert the people to the doctrine of independence. Paine, originally a Quaker and staymaker of Thetford, in Norfolk, then an exciseman, then an assistant at a school, then an exciseman again, made his abilities known in 1772, by publishing a pamphlet. This pamphlet recommended him to the notice of Franklin, and Franklin recommended the poor author to go and try his fortune in America. Paine took the advice, and, having settled at Philadelphia in 1774, he became a contributor to newspapers and other periodical works, and in January, 1775, editor of the 'Philadelphia Magazine.' In the month of January in the present year, 1776, he brought out his famous political pamphlet titled 'Common Sense.' There were other writers on the same side—of course none were tolerated on the other side—but Paine outstripped them all; his

pamphlet met with unparalleled success ; it was circulated throughout the colonies, and during the winter and spring months it had been a principal study with all classes of Americans ; and the American annalists and biographers affirm that after its appearance the public mind was rapidly and wonderfully changed.

As General Washington and the main body of the American army were now in the city of New York, or in its neighbourhood, the Royalists and the moderates were completely crushed in that colony, and the men of movement had everything their own way. And so warm and active were the men in the New York convention, that they were among the very first to take into consideration the resolution of the continental congress recommending the organization of a new form of government. Gouverneur Morris put himself at the head of these debates, and advanced a series of facts and arguments to show that disseverance and independence were absolutely necessary, and that the proper time for claiming them had *now* arrived. A committee was appointed to take into consideration the resolutions of the continental congress, and to report thereon with all convenient speed. On the 27th of May the Committee presented their report. It went the whole length desired. It affirmed that the right of granting, or new-modelling governments, belongs to the people ; that the present form of congress and committees originated in the free choice of the people, and was dependent on the people ; that this form, instituted under British sovereignty, was necessarily defective ; that by the *voluntary* abdication of the late Governor Tryon (*he had fled to save his life*), by the dissolution of the old assembly, and by the unwarrantable hostilities committed by the British fleets and armies, the old form of government was *ipso facto* dissolved, whereby it had become necessary that the people of the colony should institute "a new and regular form of internal government exclusion of foreign and external power," &c.

But the men of the hot south, the democratic par the Virginians, had preceded the New-Yorkers

few days: their convention had met at Williamsburg on the 6th of May; and on the 15th they took the decisive step of instructing their delegates in the continental congress at Philadelphia, to propose to that body an immediate declaration of independence, and the establishment of a democratical republic: and, having done this, they employed themselves in drawing up a "Declaration of Rights," and a new constitution for the colony, as if its independence had already been established. The Declaration of Rights, which the French revolutionists afterwards took for their model in drawing up their "Rights of Man," was to this effect:—"1. That all men are born equally free, possessing certain natural rights, of which they cannot by any compact deprive their posterity; 2. That all power is vested in the people, from whom it is derived; 3. That they have an unalienable, indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish their form of government at pleasure; 4. That the idea of an hereditary first magistrate is unnatural and absurd; and, 5. That no government, independent of, or separated from, the government of Virginia, ought to prevail within the limits of Virginia." Taking all their declarations and propositions together, the democratic principle could not well go farther. It was hardly possible to make a clearer enunciation of the bold experiment in government then about to be tried—of that system which, after seventy years, cannot be said to have got beyond its experimental stage. In conformity to the instruction of the Virginia Convention Richard Henry Lee, one of the Virginia delegates at Philadelphia, moved, on the 7th day of June, that congress should forthwith declare—"That, these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; that measures should immediately be taken for *procuring the assistance of foreign powers,*" &c. The question was adjourned till the next day. The length of the debate (it occupied three days) shows that

there was some opposition ; but this, it is said, was, in most of the opposers, merely as to *time*, and not to the principle of the measure of independence. Virginia had spoken out, and so had six other colonies ; but the other six—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina—were as yet silent, and it was deemed expedient to wait awhile for their formal concurrence. The impatience of the revolutionary leaders was, however, too great to suffer any long delay ;—they fixed upon the 1st of July as the decisive day, and, meanwhile, they appointed a committee to prepare a draught of the declaration of independence. This committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia ; John Adams, of Massachusetts ; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut ; Robert R. Livingston, of New York ; and Dr. Franklin, of Pennsylvania. They appointed Jefferson to make the draught. The young Virginia lawyer soon finished his task, showed it to Franklin and Adams, who made a few alterations, and then submitted it to the whole committee—which *whole*, as we have seen, consisted of four members besides Jefferson. On the 28th of June the committee reported the declaration to congress, who, after the reading, ordered it to lie on the table till the 1st of July. Though its friends had certainly not succeeded in obtaining a unanimous and spirited adhesion, they brought on the question in a committee of the whole house on the appointed day, and in the course of that day nine states voted for independence : Pennsylvania and South Carolina voted against it ; the delegates from Delaware were divided in opinion ; and the delegates from New York, who had been chosen before Washington drove Howe out of Boston and took possession of New York with his army, begged leave to withdraw, and would not vote at all. On the resolution being reported, the delegates from South Carolina requested an adjournment of the question to the *gular* day, hinting that they might not vote for it for *thigh* and unanimity, though disapprov of the measure of the hot south, the *vas* agreed to. the following *q*, had preceded the *Negates* concu

with the majority; a third delegate arrived from Delaware, and voted for the resolution; the Pennsylvania delegates *were changed that very morning* by some very summary and irregular proceeding of the revolutionary party, and the new ones joined the majority. Thus, as the Americans say, twelve of the thirteen states voted *fairly* in favour of the declaration of independence; but from the accounts given—and the one we follow is their own—we cannot possibly conceive that the voices were all fairly obtained.

In the meanwhile the English army had arrived at Sandy Hook, in the neighbourhood, and the convention had retired in a hurry from the city of New York to White Plains. But, encouraged by the presence of the English force, the moderates and loyalists stayed away, and, discouraged by the same cause, some of the revolutionary party staid away also; so that there was a very thin attendance at White Plains. On the 8th of July they opened what they called a new provincial congress, to the members of which the freeholders and voters are said to have granted full powers to decide on the subject of independence; but which members appear to have been none other than those who had sat in the last convention. The number was still small; and the legal competency—considering popular election decisive of the point—very questionable indeed. The people of the colony had not been called together, as recommended in the report of the 27th of May; and, since General Howe's landing in the neighbourhood of New York, the vast majority of the population of that city, and of the townships near it, had unequivocally declared for the king. The only authority of the new provincial congress was derived from a minority; and it does not appear that the sense of even the minority was regularly taken in the election of the provincial members, who now undertook to bind the whole colony to the declarations and fortunes of the general congress. They instantly read and discussed a letter from John Hancock, the president of the continental congress, informing them of all that had

passed at Philadelphia; and on the very next day, July the 9th, they resolved that the reasons assigned by the continental congress for declaring the united colonies free and independent states were cogent and conclusive; that they fully approved the same, and would at the risk of their lives and fortunes join the other colonies; and that the delegates of their state should be and hereby were authorised to adopt all such measures as they might deem conducive to the happiness and welfare of the United States of America. This resolution, which was carried *five days after* independence had been proclaimed by congress at Philadelphia, was considered as completing the *voluntary consent* of the thirteen provinces or states. Before being passed, Jefferson's draught of the declaration of independence had been slightly altered in committee. Not to offend the friends of America in England, all the passages were struck out which stigmatised the people, and those retained that stigmatised only the king and government. A clause reprobating the slave-trade was also struck out, to avoid giving offence to slave-holding patriots and the slave states generally. But after every alteration several delegates had refused to sign the famous paper. Some of the recusants stayed away, but Mr. Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, was present, and frankly declared that he would never sign it. The signatures wanting were supplied, months after, by newly chosen delegates. The declaration, nevertheless, went forth to the world as the unanimous act of congress and of the American people. It commenced with asserting that all men (surely they ought to have introduced the word *white*) were created equal, and that all people had an unalienable right to choose their own government; that the history of the present king of Great Britain had been a history of injuries and usurpations, having their direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over America. "To prove this," continued the paper, "let facts be submitted to a candid world:" then came a long array of all the monstrous acts of tyranny, oppression, cruelty, and perfidy of w

George III. was said to have been guilty. Many of his sins were omitted for the sake of brevity, but those inserted filled eighteen separate clauses!

The framers of this document and such of the American people as went along with them were neither deficient in confidence in their own prowess nor ignorant of the physical advantages their country presented, and the difficulty Great Britain, split into factions and with a divided parliament, must encounter in carrying on that distant war; yet it remains indisputable that their sole reliance was not upon "native swords and native ranks." We have heard Gouverneur Morris speaking of their dabbling in foreign treaties, we have heard English ministers speaking of secret envoys from France, and we have the confession of one of the leaders of the revolution, that at least one secret agent had been among them *months before they drew up the declaration of independence*. This leader was John Jay, whose own son tells the story. The French agent was repeatedly closeted with Jay, Franklin, and Jefferson; and he promised them all manner of aid, whether in arms, ammunition, or money. They had already established a secret committee of correspondence (of which Thomas Paine soon became secretary), and had opened an active correspondence with every court supposed to be inimical to Great Britain; and, both before and immediately after the declaration of independence, several American agents, much less secret and mysterious than the interesting French gentleman who had been at Philadelphia, repaired to Paris to court and bargain for French assistance. Others went more clandestinely to Madrid, to Naples, to the Hague, to St. Petersburg. But, besides this foreign aid, the Americans counted upon a rebellion in Ireland as a certainty, and upon an insurrection in England as a probability. Their addresses to the Irish people, sent over *before* the declaration of independence, had been artfully contrived to lead to one of these ends.

General Howe having remained at Halifax with the Boston army till the 11th of June, had then set sail for New York, and had come to anchor at Sandy Hook on

the 29th of June. He had expected to meet there his brother, Lord Howe, with the main body of the fleet and the new army, as also Sir Peter Parker with his squadron, and General Clinton with his troops; but all these parties were still far away, and he did not think it prudent to venture upon any hazardous step till they arrived. He was met at Sandy Hook by Tryon, the expelled governor of New York, who had been for some time on board of a ship of war, but who had secured the services of two companies of volunteers, consisting of 100 men each, raised in New York from a respectable class of society, and all ardent in the cause of the mother-country, and furious at the persecutions and annoyances their party in the colony had undergone and were actually undergoing.* At this moment Washington and his army were throwing up strong entrenchments at New York and on Long Island, to close the river Hudson against the English fleet. For the same purpose a number of vessels were sunk in various parts of the channel. Washington, with the main body, was at New York; General Sullivan, in great force, was at the western extremity of Long Island, just opposite New York; and the rest of the American forces occupied different posts on York Island, except three detachments—one on Governor's Island, one at Paulus Hook, and the third round about New Rochelle and the East and West Chester—to oppose any sudden attempt which might be made to land up the river in the rear of New York. The total number of Washington's army appears to have been rather above than under 30,000 men; but sickness prevailed in his camp to such an extent, that at one time it was reported that nearly a fourth part of the men were unfit for service. He had now a large train of artillery and an abundant supply of

* The revolutionary convention of New York had decreed that all who befriended the British government should be considered as enemies to the state, guilty of treason, should suffer "*the pains and penalties of death*." They had established CONFISCATIONS OF PROPERTY, and publicly selling by auction the goods and chattels of Royalists or suspected Royalists!

military stores. Notwithstanding his imposing attitude, General Howe, with his 9000 men, resolved to be nearer to him, and, leaving Sandy Hook, he sailed to Staten Island, situated just under the south-western point of Long Island, and whence he could watch the operations of the enemy. No opposition was made to his landing, the American troops abandoning Staten Island at his approach without firing a gun. Three days after Admiral Lord Howe arrived with his long-expected fleet and troops from England at Sandy Hook (having unfortunately lost some time in seeking his brother at Halifax), where he was soon afterwards joined by Sir Peter Parker's shattered squadron from Sullivan Island. Our army now amounted altogether to nearly 80,000 men, British and foreign.

Before proceeding to any direct act of hostility, Lord Howe sent ashore, by a flag, circular letters acquainting the Americans with his powers, both civil and military, and enclosing a declaration granting pardons to all such as were willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour; promising that any colony, town, port, or place that submitted should instantly be excepted from the provisions of the acts of parliament prohibiting their trade, &c.; and giving assurances that the meritorious services of all persons who should aid and assist in restoring tranquillity would be duly rewarded. Washington instantly forwarded these papers to the congress, and the congress published them in all their gazettes, with comments of their own.

Still reluctant to proceed to extremities, Lord Howe attempted to open a communication with General Washington, and sent some of his officers with a flag and a letter; but as he could not possibly recognise the revolutionary rank of the American, and as, in consequence, he addressed his letter to George Washington, Esq., that officer proudly refused to receive it.

The impression produced and artfully instilled into the minds of the Americans was, that the Howes were afraid of fighting the captor of Boston. At the same time the Gazettes were filled with abuse of the English army and

flattering appeals to the American heroes. General Howe, on the morning of the 22nd of August, put his army in motion on Staten Island, and first threw forward a division of 4000 men under the command of Clinton, who landed in Gravesend Bay, Long Island, without opposition, their disembarkation being well covered by three frigates and two bombs. Washington reinforced General Sullivan, who was holding the island. Clinton's division was soon followed by the rest of our army, with the artillery; and, upon their landing, Sullivan's advanced guard, which had been hovering in the neighbourhood of the landing-place, set fire to all the houses and granaries, and fled precipitately to seek cover in the woody heights through which the English must pass. Washington, making a most erroneous calculation that Long Island might be held, threw over more and more reinforcements from New York, until the mass of his army was committed on that spot. By his direction the Americans, to the number of 15,000, were posted on a peninsula towards that end of the island which faces the city of New York, and is not more than a mile from it: their lines extended almost right across the peninsula from Whalebought Bay, an elbow of the East River, on the left, to a deep marsh on a creek emptying into Gowan's Cove on the right: their rear was covered against an attack from the English ships by some batteries on Governor's Island, Red Hook, and Brooklyn-ferry; and there were other batteries on the East River to keep open their communication with the city of New York; in their front they had a strong line of entrenchments secured by abatis, flanked by redoubts, and lined with spears or lances, their centre, at Brooklyn, being made uncommonly strong; and in advance of these artificial works they had, at the distance of some two n and a half, the natural defences of a range of hills—to which their advanced guard had fallen back on Clinton's landing—covered with thick woods extending liquely nearly all across the island, and intervening tween the American lines and Lord Howe's army. The object was to occupy these heights, and to defend aga

the English the defiles which led through the hills. Washington himself had superintended these dispositions; but, after passing the day of the 26th at Brooklyn in the lines, he had returned at night to New York. Notwithstanding their advantageous positions the Americans were driven from them all, and beaten out of the island on the 26th of August. When not firing from behind walls or trees or high breast-works, their resistance was slack and contemptible. A great proportion of their left wing and centre were either killed or taken prisoners while attempting to run away. Their right, under Lord Stirling, was equally panic-stricken; they, however, maintained the contest with General Grant until they received news of the total rout of the rest of their army. They then abandoned their position, and ran for their lives across a morass to Mill Creek. It is stated that, if General Grant had moved rapidly to the edge of that morass, and had secured the head of a mill-dam over which they escaped, the greater part of this division must have been either drowned or taken prisoners. But most of them crossed the creek, and thence continued their run to Brooklyn. In their haste, however, they left their commander behind them, for Lord Stirling was taken prisoner by Grant's division.* Between the British

* This William Earl of Stirling, as he called himself, was the son of a Mr. James Alexander, who had gone out to America in 1714, with the appointment from George I. of surveyor-general for the province of New Jersey. The son, who succeeded to the same office, and also to large estates in New Jersey and New York, came over to England in 1757, after his father's death, when he was a young man of about one-and-twenty, and in 1759 got himself served nearest lawful heir male to Henry fifth Earl of Stirling, who had died without issue in 1739. On this he assumed the title, but, his petition to the king having been referred to the House of Lords, their lordships, in 1762, came to a resolution that he had not made out his claim. He still, nevertheless, continued to call himself a lord, on his own authority, and was recognised as such by the American revolutionists, whose cause he joined, and in whose army, on the breaking out of the war, he received a commission as major-general.

right, under Clinton, and the Hessians, a great many of the American officers were taken, including General Sullivan and General Udell or Woodhull. The total amount of prisoners was 1097, and from 1200 to 1500 Americans were killed or wounded. The loss of the British was comparatively trifling, not exceeding 400 men and officers in killed, wounded, and taken. In the heat of the action Washington crossed over from New York to the camp at Brooklyn, whence he witnessed the confusion and headlong flight of his troops, whom, in our opinion, he had most unwisely exposed to an unequal contest. He also witnessed, from that ill-omened camp, the ardour of the British troops, who followed the American fugitives almost to the foot of their works, and who were with difficulty prevented from making an assault on their lines—an assault which ought to have been made before the fugitives recovered from their fatigue and panic. But General Howe was of a different opinion. The British army encamped that night in front of the American lines; and on the following morning, the 28th of August, they began to break ground about six hundred yards from one of the redoubts. They seemed to have been so absorbed by this tedious and laborious occupation—to have had their eyes so bent and fixed upon the earth and their pickaxes, spades, and mattocks—as to have been blind to everything else that was passing; and they kept digging their trenches on one side, while Washington was smuggling his forces out on the other, and ferrying them over East River to the city of New York. It is said, however, that a marvelously thick fog concealed and favoured the American general's critical operation. On the night of the 29th, having collected a number of boats, and removed his military stores, with part of his provisions and the light part of his artillery, he began to embark his men. When the party first embarked were landed on the New York side, the boats returned for another; and this ferry occupied several hours, during which Washington, kept his own person on the New York side of the water, expected every moment that General Howe would be

through his lines at Brooklyn, and take his men in the rear, and that Lord Howe would send some of his ships up the East River to destroy their fragile boats and every hope of escape from Long Island. But the high-feeding English general slept on; and his brother, the admiral, though not so apt to doze, did not move a single ship or boat, and was, to all appearance, unconscious of what was going on. Nothing but a miracle of negligence, slowness, and stupidity could possibly have saved the forces—the half of his army—which Washington had exposed on Long Island; and, in point of generalship, nothing except the English letting them go when they *were there*, was so miserable as Washington's sending the Americans to that island. But even after his lucky escape, Washington found himself in a very critical situation; for he not only had a superior, and, to a degree, a victorious force, in front, with a commanding fleet, but all the country round about him was hostile to his cause. On the first appearance of Lord Howe, the people of Staten Island took the oath of allegiance to the British crown, and joyfully offered to serve as volunteers; the people of Long Island were equally loyal; on both sides the Hudson—in New Jersey, as in New York—the anti-revolutionists began to declare themselves in vast numbers; the whole continent, indeed, between New England and the Potomac abounded with Royalists or with very lukewarm republicans, and the city of New York, taken as a whole, was decidedly hostile to congress. Washington felt that, under all these circumstances, there was no possibility of defending the important city for which he had risked so much—even to putting his whole army in jeopardy; and on the 12th of September, when the British were slowly enclosing him on all sides, he evacuated New York in too great a hurry to carry off all his artillery and stores. But Howe had scarcely taken possession of New York when a dreadful fire broke out, apparently proceeding at the same moment from several quarters of the town. A number of incendiaries had stayed behind and concealed themselves in the houses, combustibles had been carefully prepared, and, taking

advantage of a brisk gale of wind, these desperadoes began their work in several places on the night of the 20th, about the hour of midnight, when most of the citizens and troops were buried in sleep. But when the spreading flames gave the alarm the soldiers were beat to quarters, detachments of sailors from the fleet were landed, and after a hard struggle the fire was stopped, though not before it had reduced nearly a third part of that fair city to ruins.* Some of the incendiaries were caught in the fact, and were either dispatched by the sword or bayonet, or thrown into the flames they had kindled, by the infuriated soldiery. The design was to make what Washington could no longer keep of no use to his enemies; and the stern patriotism and self-devotion of the act have been applauded, by those who have not sufficiently reflected that these New Englanders were not destroying their own houses and property, but the houses and property of another people and a *rival* colony.

On the morning of the 15th three British men-of-war ascended the North River as high as Bloomingdale, and completely stopped the farther removal of stores by water; and on the same day Sir Henry Clinton landed at a place called Kipp's Bay, about three miles above New York. Washington had thrown up works at this important point, but his troops fled from them with the utmost precipitation, and swept away in their flight a whole column which was sent to sustain them. Washington rode in person to the spot, but he could not rally them; and, in spite of all his efforts, another corps which he brought up joined the general flight, in which he himself was compelled to join, after witnessing the seizure at Kipp's Bay of all the heavy artillery, and a large portion of his baggage, provisions, and military stores.

* Among the buildings consumed was the old English church. When the Americans stationed at Paulus Hook saw the steeple fall, they gave three cheers, probably rejoicing in a double sense, and more as Presbyterians than as patriots.

He was thus compelled to confess, in the bitterness of his soul, that new troops and raw militia, notwithstanding their high republicanism, could never stand against a regular army, though only Royalists and mercenaries. He clearly saw that the democratic principle and the practice of free election would never do in the army, and that republicans, when they make war, must make it like other people, and dispense with the fundamental doctrine of personal liberty and equality. At present, in spite of various efforts made by Washington to remedy the evil, there was scarcely any distinction between platoon officers and privates. The New Englanders, the strength of his army, were fanatic asserters of equality; they had been allowed, in most instances, to elect their own officers, and of consequence a disposition to associate with them on a footing of equality was a recommendation of more weight, and frequently conduced more to the choice of officers, than any individual merit in the persons chosen. Hence the privates acquired no habits of obedience and subordination; and hence also the most disgraceful and unmilitary practices prevailed among the officers. If we are to believe other accounts, a considerable number of these New England officers were little better than a set of rapacious pedlars and swindlers.

Continuing to withdraw his last regiments from New York, Washington, after a considerable loss in men, occupied works and lines which ran right across York Island, the strongest being at Kingsbridge and Fort Washington.

General Howe left some troops in the city, and, with the main body of his army, marched up York Island, and encamped in face of Washington's lines. On the 16th of September there was some skirmishing in the plain that lay between the two camps: and the Americans lost two of their best officers, Colonel Knowlton, of Connecticut, and Major Leitch. Desertion now became frequent; and the time was approaching when the period of service for which most of the Americans had engaged would expire. Washington, on the 24th of September, wrote what was almost a despairing letter to congress. It was found already that all the boasts of the sons of

liberty about flying to arms by hundreds of thousands and fighting for their country without pay and reward, save such as they should acquire by establishing the most free and perfect of all independent governments, was little more than moon-shine; that, with some exceptions, the richer classes preferred staying at home and sending the poorer to fight for them; and that the poor were only to be engaged by levy-money and good pay—that they must in fact be made soldiers in the real sense of the word by being *soldati*, just as if they were mere English or Frenchmen; paid by King George or King Louis. Nothing but pay—good pay—would make good men and good officers. “Establish your army upon a permanent footing,” said Washington, “and give your officers *good pay*. This will induce gentlemen of character to engage; and until the bulk of your officers are composed of such persons, you have little to expect from them. They ought to have such allowances as will enable them to live like, and support the character of, gentlemen; and not be driven by a scanty pittance to the low and dirty arts which many of them now practise to filch the public of more than the difference of pay would amount to upon an ample allowance.* . . .

* It appears that it was no very uncommon sight to see an American officer shaving his own men, and that too “in the face of characters of distinction.” A captain was tried and broken for stealing his soldiers’ blankets. In some corps, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, serjeants, corporals, drummers, and privates lived on a common stock and on a footing of perfect equality. Almost every villainy and rascality was for some time practised with impunity. This state of things drove many gentlemen from the service altogether, and made others declare more or less publicly, that if ^{they} had known what the republican army was to be, they would never have joined it. At the same time bitter animosity prevailed between the troops from the north and those raised by the southern colonies. One ground of complaint was the circumstance that, at the beginning of the war, New Englanders—ever keen bargainers—had got more than was allowed the soldiers from the south.—*Jared Spence’s Life of Morris.*

With respect to the men, nothing but a good bounty can obtain them upon a permanent establishment. . . .

I shall, therefore, take the liberty of giving it as my opinion, that a good bounty immediately be offered, aided by the proffer of at least a hundred or a hundred and fifty acres of land, a suit of clothes, and a blanket to each non-commissioned officer and soldier." As to the militia, he added that it was assuredly resting upon a broken staff to place any dependence upon it; as the militia-men not only deserted themselves, but were the cause of desertion in others. Nay, he went so far as to say that, unless the republican soldiers were gratified to the extent of their wishes, they would be disposed to *join the royal army, and that many of them were doing so already*. Congress then voted an increase of pay and of bounty money, and offered other advantages, immediate or prospective, which made it more profitable to serve under Washington than to serve under Howe.*

Immediately after the victory on Long Island, Lord Howe, as one of the king's pacificators or commissioners, made another unsuccessful attempt to open a negotiation. Congress appointed three of the bitterest enemies of Great Britain—Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Rutledge—their committee to receive the communications of Lord Howe. This trio waited upon his lordship in Staten Island, on the 11th of September, four days before the British army took possession of New York. His lordship received them with great politeness. He assured them that there was every good disposition in the king, ministry, and parliament to make the government easy to them; and that, to put an end to their grievances, the obnoxious acts of parliament would all be revised, &c. The committee gave it as their opinion that to return to allegiance and dependence was now impossible; and they declared that the Americans had been forced against their will into the war and into the proclamation of independence. Lord Howe then put an end to the

* Washington's Letters.

useless conference with many expressions of grief and regret for the horrors which must be let loose upon the land. The committee returned to Philadelphia,* and Howe passed over to New York, as we have seen, driving Washington before him to the lines he had previously made. After consuming whole weeks in throwing up intrenchments to defend his own lines and the approaches to New York, he, on the 12th of October, embarked a considerable part of the royal army in flat-bottomed boats, sent them through Hell Gate into the Sound, and landed them at Frog's Neck, about nine miles in the rear of Washington's positions, which were thus shorn of their strength. Some of the ships of war went still higher up the North River; so as to cut off any retreat to the Jerseys; and the only road open was one leading to the New England provinces; and this road too might have been closed by a more active and skilful commander. Washington, taking council from his own high courage, and forgetting the low spirit of his troops, would have remained where he was to fight a pitched battle. He harangued his officers, and told them they must retreat no farther, but decide the fate of America on that ground. But General Lee, the deserter, who had come up from Sullivan Island and the Carolinas, remonstrated against this determination, pointing out that the ground was almost as bad as Long Island, and that the British would hem the army round with such a chain of works as would reduce them to the necessity of surrendering, through famine, without fighting at all. Washington was still obstinate, but a council of war was called, and it was decided by a majority that they must decamp immediately.† If General Howe had landed at Pell's Point

* Before this interview at Staten Island, Lord Howe had written a private letter to his "worthy friend" Dr. Franklin, to acquaint him of the nature of his mission, to express his earnest desire to see all differences accommodated, &c. and gave Franklin the opportunity of insulting England and sneering at the *bonhomme* of his lordship.

† Marshall.

instead of Frog's Neck,* the retreat would have been almost impracticable, and Washington must inevitably have lost all his artillery and baggage; but Howe did not re-embark his men and collect them at Pell's Point till the 18th of October, and thus time was allowed the Americans to bring off most of their remaining military stores, and to get towards the open country called the White Plains. The English general's blunders, however, could not excuse those committed by Washington. On the 19th and 20th there was some skirmishing, and a sharp combat at a narrow pass, which the Americans in vain attempted to defend against the British. On the 21st Washington occupied some heights between New Rochelle and the branch of the Hudson called the North River. Howe encamped in and about the village of New Rochelle, on the shore of the Sound. On the 22nd Washington fell back to the edge of White Plains, and put the main body of his army in a long line of entrenched camps, extending from twelve to thirteen miles, on different heights. He thus placed the river Bronx between him and Howe; and he presently threw up some additional works to strengthen his line. When Washington had made himself as strong as he could, and had somewhat revived the spirits of the Americans by a few skirmishes, in which their use of the rifle and their knowledge of the country gave them some trifling advantages, Howe, on the 28th of October, moved to attack him in two columns, the left led by himself, the right by Clinton. As the British advanced towards the White Plains Clinton's column fell in with several bodies of the enemy and drove them back to their lines in great confusion. When our troops arrived within three-quarters of a mile of the American lines they had a distinct view of their whole position, which was strongest on the flanks and weakest in the centre. If an assault had been made on the centre it could not have failed, and its full success would have been absolute destruction to the American

* Frog's Neck was an island, joined on by a bridge which the Americans broke.

army; for Washington had so posted his right wing that, if cut off from the centre and left, it must either have surrendered or have been drowned in the winding Bronx. Howe had in the field 13,000 effective men; Washington had from 18,000 to 20,000; but the greater part of them were not better than a loose militia, and their dismay and confusion was very evident in spite of their fortified lines, which, on a near approach, were not found so formidable as they appeared at a distance. When our army came in sight their tents were all standing; and the hurry of striking them, and of loading the waggons with the baggage, with the movement of troops backward and forward in evident uncertainty of purpose, presented an extraordinary picture of alarm.* But Howe, instead of moving right on the weak centre, kept his attention fixed on the right wing, and on a hill beyond the Bronx, where Washington had posted 4000 men, though in that position they were utterly incapable of supporting, or receiving support from, the rest of his army. But it appears to have been Howe's strange destiny to convert Washington's mistakes into benefits to the Americans. Though the force beyond the river could not reach him with their guns, and though two battalions with a couple of pieces of artillery might have prevented them from recrossing the Bronx to take him in flank, he directed the first and chief effort of his army against that worthless position. He detached a part of his left wing; the men crossed the river at a ford which was entirely under the command of our cannon; they then mounted the hill, and gallantly drove the 4000 Americans from it.† But then it became necessary to sustain the troops which had taken possession of the

* Stedman.

† Captain Harris, who was on the field, says,—“Americans behaved in the most dastardly manner, for tho they at first made a show of resistance, no sooner was second brigade ordered to advance, than they gave way with such precipitation, that they escaped to the heights before our men could reach them.”—*Journal, in Eustan's Life of Lord Harris*

hill; and in so doing the left and right wing of our army were in a great measure severed from one another. That night—and it was an inclement one—the British troops lay on their arms. The next day they encamped, with the left wing on one side of the Bronx, and the right on the other. On the 30th Howe was reinforced by four battalions from York Island and two from Mago Neck Post; and he then made a disposition to attack the enemy's lines on the following morning. But during the night it rained in torrents, and the rain made the faces of the hills so slippery, that it was thought our men would have great difficulty in mounting them. On the 31st the weather was fine and the hill sides comparatively dry. Howe then resolved to make his attack on the morrow; but his intention was betrayed by a deserter, and before the break of day Washington evacuated the lines, set fire, in his retreat, to all the houses on White Plains, crossed the Croton river to North Castle, and took up a most advantageous position, with the Croton stretching along his whole front, and with his rear well defended by woods and heights. Instead of following him, Lord Howe returned to reduce Fort Washington and King's Bridge, where the American general had left considerable forces in the rash hope that they would be able to hold out even though he retreated or were beaten. The force in Fort Washington, and in extensive entrenchments round it, was indeed immense for such a service, consisting of no fewer than 3000 men, under the command of Colonel Macgaw, a brave, well-educated, and skilful Pennsylvanian, who had deserted the law to follow the profession of arms. The post was most important to the royal army, as it secured an intercourse with the Jersey shore, and in the hands of the enemy seriously obstructed the navigation of the North river. The fortifications were in good repair—the situation was wonderfully strong by nature—and it was not to be approached except under a heavy fire. It was the 15th of November before the English got their batteries in order and summoned the garrison to surrender on pain of being put to the sword. On that very morning

Washington was in the fort, having brought over some reinforcements from the opposite side of the river; but as soon as he had instructed Macgaw to defend the post to the last moment he withdrew. On the following morning all the neighbouring heights were assaulted in different directions by four columns of British and Hessians, who had hills to climb and thick woods to force, rivers to ascend and creeks to cross. They lost in killed and wounded 800 men; but, Lord Percy having carried the advanced works, the garrison threw down their arms, and all who were not killed were taken prisoners. Thus did Washington lose 3000 of his best men. On the 18th of November Lord Cornwallis crossed the North river, drove the Americans from Fort Lee, which was nearly opposite Fort Washington, took all their tents standing, all their provisions and stores, and advanced into the Jerseys without opposition. This advance induced Washington to quit his post on the Croton, and fall back upon the Delaware river. Cornwallis penetrated to the remotest parts of East and West Jersey, being received by the majority of the people rather as a friend and deliverer than as an enemy. On the 24th of November, being reinforced by two brigades of English troops and a battalion of Highlanders, his lordship marched on for Brunswick. Here he was ordered to halt—an order which is said to have saved the panic-struck and flying army of Washington from ruin. Cornwallis was within two or three marches of the Americans, whose retreat was impeded by bad roads and heavy artillery. But his lordship did not receive orders to advance till the evening of the 16th of December, and, though he marched from Brunswick at four o'clock on the following morning, and arrived at Princetown in the afternoon, the last of the American rear had cleared at before his arrival.* In headlong haste, and with r-

* Lord Cornwallis was a very Cæsar in rapidity compared to his commander-in-chief and some of our methodical generals. His movements were checked by Howe. Captain Harris, who was with the advancing column, could hardly understand why they halted so frequently. With his al-

treme difficulty, the American general led the remnant of his army to Trenton, and there began to ferry them across the Delaware. So many had deserted—so many had retired because their term of service was up—that he had now scarcely 3000 men, and of these a portion were unsteady militia. Cornwallis put his division into winter-quarters between the Delaware and the Hakensack, and nothing more was done in this quarter. While Cornwallis had been advancing through the Jerseys, Clinton, with the squadron of Sir Peter Parker, had been sent along the coast to Rhode Island, where the people were enthusiastic revolutionists, and where an American squadron had been collected under Commodore Hopkins. The island was taken without any difficulty, for the provincial troops fled, and Hopkins retired up Providence river, where he remained inactive and useless. But, unfortunately, it required a considerable force to keep Rhode Island, and during three years a great body of men was left upon it in perfect idleness.*

On the side of the lakes, the American army which had fled from Canada had been equally unfortunate with that near the Delaware. We left it on the Isle aux Noix, where the Sorel issues from Lake Champlain, suffering from fever and malaria, Sir Guy Carleton being unable to follow up his successes through want of vessels to cope with the American flotilla and command the

good sense and modesty he says—"We pursued the enemy much too slowly; but it is not for us subordinates to comment on the movements of our commanders, of which we are in general very incompetent judges. Warped by passion, we consider only visible objects, and forget the thousand latent wheels by which a great army moves."—*Journal*. The British, however, would not have been left much behind if the Americans had not abandoned the greater part of their artillery. Harris in his journal mentions that at one place, where a hundred resolute men might have stopped our whole army, they left behind them thirty-two guns, together with their tents and baggage.

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Ramsay.—Burke, in *Ann. Regist.*—Marshall.

lakes. The way in which the wants were supplied and the difficulty overcome afforded a consoling proof—a proof much required—that all activity and energy were not confined to the irregular, self-taught American officers. Thirty vessels were required to give a decided superiority on those waters, the access to which by the Sorel was impracticable to ships, and most difficult and laborious to boats on account of numerous shallows, falls, and rapids. The frame-work of some vessels was sent for to England, but this required time. Carleton therefore sent detachments from the king's ships stationed at Quebec with volunteers from the transports and a corps of artillery—in all about seven hundred men—to fell timber and to occupy a favourable post on the shore of Lake Champlain. The keel and floor timbers of the 'Inflexible,' a ship of three hundred tons, which had been laid at Quebec, were taken to pieces, carried over to St. John's, and laid down again at a corner of the lake where a little dock-yard was improvised; thirty long-boats, many large batteaux or flat-bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons were carried up to the spot, partly by land and partly by being dragged up the shoals and rapids of the river Sorel at an extraordinary expense of human labour. Lieutenant Schanck, an officer who possessed great mechanical ingenuity, superintended the works at the dock-yard, where timber which had been growing in the forest in the morning, was turned into part of a ship before night. In twenty-eight days from the relaying her keel, the 'Inflexible' was launched, rigged, armed with eighteen twelve-pounders, and equipped for service; two schooners, the 'Maria' and 'Carleton,' were put together with equal rapidity; and the flotilla was completed by the 'Loyal Convert' gondola, the 'Thunder,' a kind of flat-bottomed raft carrying twelve heavy guns and two howitzers, and twenty boats armed each with a field-piece or carriage-gun. The whole thing seemed like magic! In a few weeks the British, from not having a single boat, had a force sufficient to sweep the lakes Champlain and St. George from end to end. Before these preparations were made

Americans had quitted the Isle aux Noix and traversed the lake for Crown Point. Congress had voted that General Gates should take the command of that northern army, and that he should be reinforced with six thousand militia. But men no longer marched willingly in that direction. If any efforts were made to increase the shipping, they had failed; for at this moment the Americans had only fifteen small vessels on the lake, carrying in all ninety-six guns, fourteen of which were eighteen pounders, twenty-three twelves, and the rest six and four-pounders. The command of the squadron, at the instance of Washington, was given to Arnold, the real hero of the Canada expedition. No time was lost by the British in seeking this brave and active enemy, and Sir Guy Carlton himself embarked with the squadron—the strangest squadron that ever English seamen had seen. Captain Pringle was commodore with his pennant on the ‘Inflexible;’ and among those young officers who were appointed to the ‘Carleton,’ schooner, was one who was destined to become one of the most distinguished of British naval commanders—this was Edward Pellew, then a midshipman, afterwards Admiral Viscount Exmouth. On the 11th of October they discovered Arnold with his fifteen vessels drawn up in a strong line across the passage between Isle Vallicour and the western shore of the lake.

American writers have not a breath, or a flourish of the pen, to bestow on Arnold’s brilliant performance on the two days of hard fighting which ensued; but it appears, from English authorities, that his conduct was truly heroic, and that he fought on, with his wonted intrepidity, when most of his vessels had run from him and abandoned him.* Not a republican was left either on the waters or on the shores of Champlain. It is conjectured that the Royalists might, and ought to have, at once, re-taken Ticonderoga. What remains unquestion-

* Stedman.—Ostler, *Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth*; London, 1835. During Carleton’s stay at Crown Point, young Pellew nearly succeeded in capturing Arnold.

able is, that the conception and management of the late campaign were beautiful things in war; and that Carleton displayed as much humanity as bravery.

Though the easy and comfortable confidence of many of its members that the contest would be soon decided by the victory of American arms was materially shaken, the general congress, as a body, remained firm and hopeful; for they knew that the chances would turn much in their favour when the English army ventured into the interior of the country; and they also knew that extensive foreign aid and co-operation were preparing for them. While Washington was being driven from post to post, they occupied themselves in completing their republican constitution.* The advance of Lord Cornwallis, however, through the Jerseys, obliged them to fly from Philadelphia to a safer place; but when re-assembled at Baltimore, on the 20th of December, they betrayed no despondency, or any lack of spirit, which must have proved fatal to their whole cause. Convinced that Washington in the field, and as an experienced soldier, was more competent to the management of an army, and of the means of recruiting it, than a set of lawyers, traders, and planters, they materially enlarged his military powers. Their committee of foreign correspondence laboured night and day, neglecting no argument, and scarcely any temptation, to induce France and Spain to espouse their quarrel openly, and threaten England with invasion, while so large a part of her forces were engaged in that distant war. To men who had so committed themselves, everything seemed preferable to a return to allegiance. It was formally discussed in congress, whether their commissioners at Versailles should not be authorised to transfer to France the same command or monopoly of their trade which Great Britain had possessed. This was relinquished as too extreme a measure, and as strik-

* On the 4th of October they established articles of confederation and perpetual union between the several states. These articles were a supplement to, and extension of the declaration of independence.

a mortal blow *at most of the leading arguments they had used with the people in favour of independence.** But the cooler and more astute heads represented that if France would venture into the war at all, it would not be through any treaty, compact, or promise of theirs, but merely out of her old rivalry and hatred of England. This was the political philosophy of Benjamin Franklin, who was now preparing to go to Paris as chief negotiator. They expected, if they could only maintain the struggle a little longer, that half of the powers of Europe, who were jealous of the greatness, and anxious for the dismemberment, of the British empire, would, "in sound policy, interfere so far as to prevent the conquest of the United States." †

They were not guilty of that folly in politics of trusting to the generous passions and amiable feelings of courts and cabinets: they appealed to the worst passions and to the most selfish feelings; and with what success we shall soon see. Yet the Congress had scarcely left Philadelphia for Baltimore, when the large majority of Philadelphians, who had opposed the declaration of independence, and who had unwillingly recognised the signature of their delegates, which had not been obtained without a trick, began openly to declare for the royal cause. Several of their leading men went over to the commissioners, Lord Howe and General Howe, at New York; and, as those who stayed behind in Philadelphia were heartily joined by the peace-loving Quakers, they hindered an execution of an order for fortifying the city. Most of the towns of the two Jerseys, moreover, sent deputations to the king's commissioners, and expressed their anxiety for the return of peace and order, through the channel of submission and conciliation.‡

n one particular the advice of the secretary-at-war,

* Secret Journals of Congress, as cited by Marshall.—*Life of Washington.*

† See papers, in Almon's Remembrancer.

‡ Ann. Regist. — Almon's Remembrancer. — Gordon. — *Idem.*

Lord Barrington, had been followed. Our establishments for the management of affairs with the Indians were withdrawn, and the red men were left to adopt their own course against the back settlements of the colonies, which, year after year, had kept encroaching on their hunting-grounds. The fiercest animosities had long existed between these incompatible neighbours; and the white Americans had adopted, at an early period, and continued to retain, the principle that the red men were to be treated like beasts of prey, which can never be tamed, but may be exterminated. As the Indians were accurate accountants in matters of blood, and held, as the most sacred part of their religion, that they were bound to avenge the death of their kindred and tribe, the effect of this exterminating system was terrible. Our agents had scarcely been withdrawn when the Creeks and Cherokees resolved to ravage the back territories of Virginia and the Carolinas, and to carry, if possible, fire and the spear into the interior of these colonies. Our agents warned the well-affected to remove their persons and property, and they then encouraged the Indians to do what would certainly have been done without their encouragement.

We return to England, where the minds of all men were absorbed by the momentous struggle. In the course of the summer it had been discovered not only that many of the American privateers were *French* ships, which had taken out papers and commissions from the government of the revolution, with few or no American seamen on board; but also that France, and Spain as well, were fitting out great armaments, and were allowing the American privateers, or the vessels with American commissions, to sell their prizes in their ports. Sixteen more ships of the line were thereupon put in commission by our government, who issued proclamations augmenting bounties of money to seamen, recalling all British sailors that were in foreign service, and laying an embargo on the exportation of provisions. Parliament assembled on the 31. of October. In concluding the speech from the throne the majesty said: "In this arduous contest I can h-

other object but to promote the true interests of all my subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those now revolted provinces: the improvements in every art of which they boast declare it; *their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land*, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother-country, *are irrefragable proofs of it.* My desire is to restore them to the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs." The addresses in both Houses brought on violent debates, in which the animosity of party was far more discernible than anything else. In the course of the debate George Washington was lauded as a spirited, hospitable, unambitious country gentleman. The president Hancock was described as a plain honest merchant, of fair character and considerable substance in Boston; and the rest of the leaders in Congress were represented as simple-minded unspeculative people, who, until very lately, had abhorred levelling and republican principles. It was maintained—it was solemnly averred and sworn to—that the revolutionary leaders had practised no arts, no trickery, no subterfuges, no oppression upon any part of their countrymen—that there had been no coercion anywhere—that the revolution had sprung from the spontaneous and universal feeling of the colonies. Lord North and Lord George Germaine defended the speech, in all its parts, and went farther in attributing or insinuating a direct share in its composition to the king than it was usual for ministers to do. Lord North, in his quiet way, told some of the opposition declainers that, if they were members of the new American legislature, they could not have ventured with impunity to make so free with the president and the absolute majority of Congress as they were doing with the sovereign, the ministers, and parliamentary majority of this country! Efforts were made to bring the great orator to the charge; butatham's gout had not improved with advancing age, and he could be got from him beyond a declaration that he

continued in the same sentiments with regard to America, which he had always professed, and which stood fully explained in his Provisional Act; that, unless effectual measures were speedily taken for reconciling the colonies, he was fully persuaded that, in a very few years, France would set her foot on English ground; although, at the present moment, her policy might probably be to wait some time, in order to see England more deeply engaged in this ruinous war, *against herself*, in America; as well as to prove how far the Americans, abetted by France *indirectly* only, might be able to make a stand, before she took an *open* part, by declaring war against England. It required no superhuman sagacity to arrive at the latter conclusion, which was familiar by this time to the whole nation. The ministerial majorities continued to be very large. For the expenses of the navy 3,205,505*l.* were freely voted. The number of seamen was raised to 45,000. The army estimates were about 3,000,000*l.*, exclusive of extras, and some new contracts with the German princes for more men to serve in America. During the Christmas recess, the public mind was dreadfully agitated by the strange and mysterious performances of an incendiary.

On the 7th of December a fire broke out in the rope-house in his majesty's dockyard at Portsmouth, and threatened destruction to everything there. By timely exertion it was got under, and it passed for an accident till the 15th of January, when Mr. Russell, one of the under clerks of the dockyard, having occasion to move some hemp in the hemp-room, discovered a machine and combustible materials, evidently placed there by design. This awoke and confirmed the worst suspicions; and as, some weeks before, a sullen and silent man had been seen loitering about the yard, the assembled workmen instantly conceived that he must be the incendiary. As he was a painter by trade, they called him John the Painter; but nothing more was known of him, and on searching Portsmouth and the neighbourhood no such person could be found. In the meantime other fires broke out in various places, and six or seven warehouses were consumed.

the quay at Bristol, close on a deep and narrow chasm, which was nearly dry when the tide was out, and which was, at the moment, crowded with shipping that narrowly escaped destruction. A cry of indignation, horror, and alarm ran through the land, that American incendiaries had stolen into the country, and would spread fire and devastation in every part of it. While people were in this agitated state, Sir John Fielding, the most intelligent and active of all our magistrates, found some means to trace this John the Painter, and to identify him with a fellow who had been apprehended at Odiham, in Hampshire, for a burglary, about the beginning of February. He was brought up to London for examination. The fellow behaved with perfect composure,; boldness, and cunning; and, though several times interrogated by members of the privy council, by some of the lords of the Admiralty, and other officers belonging to that board, he was neither disconcerted nor embarrassed, and he could never be driven to answer any question that tended, however indirectly, to criminate him. It appeared, however, that he had passed some time in the most combustible of the American colonies; and thereupon it was determined to set another painter, who had likewise been in America, to circumvent and entrap him. This scheme is said to have been suggested by Earl Temple, who thought that we could not, and ought not, to stand upon punctilios in so vital a matter. Baldwin, the travelled painter selected for the business, did it with great address. Being put in the same ward with John the Painter, he pretended to sympathise in his misfortunes, and to hold principles similar to his own; he spoke of his travels in America, and nothing is more likely to lead to fellowship and free communion, whether among educated or half-educated men, than their having been over the same land in distant countries. By this freemasonry of welters, and by his other ingenious arts, Baldwin roughly outwitted the crafty incendiary, and in about ten days led him to disclose the whole of his secretory. Implicit reliance can scarcely be placed on the veracity of a man capable of such work, and Baldwin had

too cunning and low a mind not to be suspected of some little exaggeration; nevertheless, nearly all the details that admitted of proof to be found in this country were in a remarkable degree corroborated by other witnesses, who were removed from any suspicion of collusion, invention, or exaggeration. According to Baldwin, the incendiary told him that his real name was James Aitken, that he was born in Edinburgh and bred a house-painter, and that a spirit of rambling and a profligate habit of life had led him into many countries and through many strange adventures. To gratify his roving disposition, and probably to escape the consequences of his crimes, he shipped himself for America, continued there two or three years, and travelled on foot through several of the colonies, at a time when political frenzy and animosity against England were at their highest. There and then the renegade, the fugitive from the gallows, commenced politician and reformer of abuses, and conceived the notion of serving the cause of liberty and checking the monstrous tyranny of King George, by burning our shipping and our principal trading cities and towns. Leaving America, in March, 1775, he went to France, where he had several interviews with Silas Deane, the agent of Congress, who was travelling Europe, like another John of Precida, in search of enemies to Great Britain. Silas Deane, we know, was at the time in very close relations with the leaders of the war party in France; and Choiseul, the head manager of a similar burning plot which Lord Rochfort had discovered in 1764, was now again in office, and as anxious for a war with England as ever he had been. According to Baldwin the incendiary told him that Silas Deane had given him some money; had encouraged him to set fire to the dockyards at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Woolwich, and Chatham, as the best means of distressing Great Britain; had promised to reward him according to the service he should do the American cause; and as an earnest of what should follow, had given him a recommendation to, and bills upon, a merchant in London to the amount of 300*l.*, which bills, however, he had found

it necessary to burn in order to prevent a discovery. Following the same evidence, we find it stated that, after concluding his bargain with Silas Deane, he procured a French passport (which he was sorry to say he had left at Portsmouth with other things in a bundle), and came over to Dover; that at Canterbury he contrived the machine which had been found in the hemp-house at Portsmouth, and got involved in a quarrel about politics with a dragoon; that on leaving Canterbury he proceeded straight to Portsmouth, and began to compound and prepare his combustibles; that he quarrelled with his landlady on account of the interruption she gave him in these occupations, and was obliged to take another lodging, as she forcibly turned him out of her house; that he easily got into the dockyard, and was even locked up one day in the hemp-room; that, finding a difficulty in lighting his matches, he had purchased other matches of a woman in the town; and that, when his machine had been effectually placed and the fire was breaking out, he took his departure from Portsmouth in a countrywoman's cart, often looking back at the flames, with the hope that the conflagration would spread and answer the end proposed. A boy, who had made a canister or part of the machine for him at Canterbury, was produced at his trial, which took place at the Winchester assizes, and swore to the article found in the hemp-room and to the person of the prisoner: the dragoon whom he had quarrelled with at Canterbury, the woman at whose house he had lodged at Portsmouth, the man who had let him out of the ropehouse, the various persons who had seen him in the dockyard, the woman who had sold him the matches, the woman who had taken him up in her cart in his flight from Portsmouth, and, lastly, the bundle he had left behind him, which was his French passport, with other articles which had been mentioned by Baldwin, were all produced against him, and formed, altogether, a long and strong chain of circumstantial evidence.

There was no doubt left on any mind either as to his guilt or as to his connexion with Silas Deane. But,

after sentence, the prisoner confessed to some naval officers and others, that the substance of most of what Baldwin had deposed as his previous revelation to him was true—that he had indeed applied to Silas Deane, who told him when the work was done he should be rewarded—that, after setting fire to the ropeyard at Portsmouth, he had come up to London and waited on Dr. Bancroft, an American, to whom he had a verbal recommendation from Silas Deane—that he afterwards wrote to Dr. Bancroft, and the day following met him at a coffee-house, and told him he would do all the harm he could to this kingdom—that the doctor did not approve of his conduct, yet, upon being pressed not to inform against him, the doctor promised him he would not. He confessed that he had twice attempted to set fire to the dockyard at Plymouth, and had set fire to the warehouses at Bristol after failing in an attempt to deposit his combustibles on board of some ship; that he had committed various robberies, some a long time ago and some quite recently; that he had enlisted in and deserted from two regiments, and that he had lived and travelled in America as stated. On the 10th of March (1777) he was carried from Winchester gaol to Portsmouth dock-gate, and there hanged on a gallows sixty feet high. Silas Deane made a tour to Italy, but he was soon afterwards regularly appointed by Congress their ambassador and plenipotentiary at Paris.* He gave other and ample proofs that his hostility to England was under no control of conscience or of decency.

A.D. 1777.—A series of debates took place on abuses in the commissariat, in the chartering of transports, in the contracts for supplying the troops in America with provisions, rum, &c. Many members of the House of Commons—ruby-faced gentlemen, who sat on the ministerial side of the House, sometimes speaking of king country, but always voting with the treasury bench.

* He left Paris, to try his diplomatic talents at Florence, Venice, Naples, &c., in the month of March, a few days before the painter was hanged at Portsmouth.

had been allowed to get profitable contracts ; profitable to them, but slow death to the poor soldiers and sailors who had to eat their meagre, sapless beef, their carrion pork, and their mouldy biscuits. The Opposition affirmed that, both at Boston and since, our brave soldiers had been destroyed by unwholesome provisions. Nor was this party invention or exaggeration ; the monstrous evil existed, as it had done for ages, and as it notoriously continued to exist down to a very recent date. Another violent debate took place on account of an unexpected demand made by the Landgrave of Hesse for more money ; and Lord North had scarcely recovered from this combat, and from a severe fit of illness, when he was compelled—on the 9th of April—to deliver a message from the king, asking for an increase to the civil list. He stated that his majesty had again been obliged to incur debts to the amount of upwards of 600,000*l.*, and that he relied on the loyalty and affection of his faithful Commons for enabling him to discharge these debts, and for some further provision for the better support of his household and the honour and dignity of his crown. His lordship then laid before the House a number of accounts which had been sent down with the message, and which went to prove that the king had been a loser by his surrender of the hereditary revenue and his bargain with parliament at his accession in 1760. As the demands upon the public purse had been so excessive, and seemed so likely to keep on the increase, a loud outcry was raised. On one division the very unusual number of 114 voted against the ministerial majority of 281. After this division, the House, in a committee of supply, passed two resolutions:—1. That the sum of 618,340*l.* should be granted to enable his majesty to pay his debts. 2. That the sum of 100,000*l.* a-year, over above the sum already fixed (of 800,000*l.* a-year) should be granted for the better support of his majesty's household, &c.

On the 7th of May more money was asked in the Commons, for the insatiable Landgrave of Hesse. This

was too much even for the country gentlemen ; and such of them as were still in town expressed their disapprobation in strong terms. The resolution to pay was nevertheless carried in the committee of supply, though only by a majority of 38 to 28. When the report was brought up, the next day, the debate was renewed, and the report was finally agreed to only by 50 against 42. But there was one more grand debate in the House of Lords on the affairs of America. On the 30th of May, the Lords being summoned on purpose, Chatham went to the House to move an address to his majesty for the immediate cessation of hostilities. He was in a weak state of health, but he spoke with all his former fire—his eloquence, like some other men's poetry, improving with age. It was, as it always had been, better than his political philosophy—for he maintained even now that the Americans might be reclaimed by concessions on our part. The idea of their independence was as odious and horrible to his imagination as ever. England must keep the States in her dependency or perish. She could only keep them by acknowledging herself the aggressor, and by removing, at once, all the grievances of which they complained. He was answered or opposed by Lord Gower, Lord Lyttelton, Lord Mansfield, Lord Weymouth, and the Archbishop of York ; who all maintained that a separation from Great Britain, with absolute independence, was the primary object of the American congress, and the end at which that party had been aiming for *many* years ; that concessions on our part would now be not merely useless, but ridiculous, degrading, and encouraging to their designs ; and that such an acknowledgment of weakness would assuredly draw down upon us the contempt of our friends and the attacks of our foes, who would believe us to be too weak and spiritless even to defend our own and our own homes. Lord Lyttelton expressed his astonishment at Chatham's despondency—despondency one who had formerly inspired the whole nation with the most exalted, warlike, and heroic feelings. I—

ton asked in what 'was the state of America calculated to make Britain despair of reducing her to her former obedience? Anarchy, he said, prevailed there, with treachery, cruelty, and oppression practised on the loyal party; every law was trampled under foot by an ambitious faction; every prison was filled with those who would not join the scheme of Congress, and other loyal Americans were driven into exile and despoiled of their property: but this could not last—this state of anarchy would swallow up those who had made it. He reminded Lord Chatham and the other peers in opposition how often they had denied the probability or possibility of a declaration of independence; and how often they had declared that, if it should ever happen, they would be the first in endeavouring to compel the Americans to renounce the fatal scheme and return to their duty. A murmur ran through the House that Chatham was doing his best to encourage the Americans and discourage the people of England. Upon the question being put, the motion was negatived by a majority of 89 against 28. On the 6th of June his majesty prorogued parliament, with thanks to the Commons for the zeal and public spirit they had displayed in granting large and extraordinary supplies; and with the expression of the hope that, under the Divine providence, the vigorous exertions of his great forces would end the war in the present campaign.

But before the royal speech was delivered some unlucky events had occurred in the seat of war. As the detachment which Lord Cornwallis had led through the Jerseys in pursuit of Washington lay in winter-quarters on the left bank of the Delaware, many of the British officers got leave of absence and went to enjoy themselves at head-quarters in New York. It appears also that the men left behind indulged rather too freely in Christmas festivities. Moreover, two faults had been committed: the troops were put in straggling cantonments far apart; and one of the most critical points was entrusted to a body of Hessians, who were wholly un-

acquainted with the language, customs, and manners of the American people; while their commander, Colonel Rhalle, or Rawle, was a dull, brave, or obstinate man—a mere *sabreur* of the old school. The most careless confidence prevailed in all the cantonments, arising out of the belief that Washington's army was entirely disorganised, and that the Americans would neither attack nor wait to be attacked when the annual freezing of the Delaware should enable the British to cross it.

Washington, who had spies everywhere, ascertained the situation of our forces, and resolved to try the effect of a sudden attack, which might save Philadelphia, and induce his enemy to fall back from the Delaware. On the 24th of December he collected his regiments on the opposite bank of the river, some higher up, some lower down, but all out of sight of the British and Hessians. He, however, found himself under the necessity of leaving a considerable force at Philadelphia to keep down the Royalists, who seemed threatening to rise in arms. On Christmas-day he made all his preparations for crossing the river by night; but when the division he conducted in person got to their boats, they found the water so obstructed with ice, that they could scarcely force a passage through it, and it was thus three o'clock in the morning before they reached the left bank, above Trenton, where Rhalle lay with his Hessians. A trusty spy had told him that he had looked into the houses where the British and Hessians were quartered, and had found them buried in sleep and in Christmas drink. It was four o'clock before Washington could get his own division, which consisted of 2500 of his best men, into motion, and then he had to march eight or nine miles before he came upon the Hessians at Trenton. But those mercenaries slept on, and, though it was eight o'clock and daylight before the Americans arrived, they permitted themselves to be almost surrounded in the town before they fired a musket. At the first crash of mingled rocketry and artillery—Washington had brought several field-pieces with him—Rhalle ran out into the s-

assembled all that he could of his three regiments, and bravely charged Washington's main body; but in the very beginning of the attack he was brought down mortally wounded by an American rifle, and then his men endeavoured to retreat towards Princetown, a place about fifteen miles up the river, where General Leslie was cantoned. But by this time every road was blocked up in force by the Americans, who, in addition to their own artillery, had now got possession of all the field-pieces in Trenton. After a short hesitation and very little fighting—for only about twenty of them were killed—the Hessians, to the number of nearly a thousand, laid down their arms and surrendered. On the part of the Americans two privates were killed, two frozen to death, and one officer and three or four privates wounded. About five hundred Hessians, among whom were a troop of light horse, stationed at the lower end of Trenton towards the bridge which the American General Irvine was to have seized, got safely off by crossing the bridge and retreating down the river to Bordentown. As that road was open, nearly the whole force might have escaped by it, if the Hessians had had any presence of mind, and had moved from the town in time.*

The expedition had a surprising effect on the spirit of the Americans, and all pains were taken to make the most of it. Hitherto, his raw recruits had looked upon the veteran Hessians with fear and dismay. To break the spell and to convince the inhabitants that his success was not, as many suggested, a mere fiction, Washington despatched all his prisoners to Philadelphia, and caused them, in their abject state, to be paraded through all the streets of the town. His good fortune, however, made him rash. In the course of a few days the Delaware was completely frozen over, and the ice strong enough to bear his army and artillery. He resolved to recover the Jerseys, and, sending Generals Cadwallader, Irvine, and Mifflin across the ice with between 3000 and 4000 men,

* Captain Harris's Journal.

he himself recrossed the Delaware on the last day of the year (1776), and took post at Trenton, which had not yet been re-occupied by our arms. When united, his whole force must considerably have exceeded 6000 men, for his recent exploit had brought in many recruits, and those whose time of service was up, agreed to remain a little longer upon receiving a bounty of ten dollars per man. But General Grant, with a strong body of British and auxiliary troops, had advanced from Brunswick, and had joined General Leslie at Princetown; and Lord Cornwallis, who had been on the point of sailing for England when news arrived at New York of the affair at Trenton, had rapidly returned to take the command of the Jersey army, was in Princetown on the 1st of January, and had there concentrated all the troops he had on the Delaware river. And, on the 2nd of January, some days sooner than the Americans expected him, Cornwallis descended from Princetown, drove the enemy's outposts before him, and, by four o'clock in the afternoon, reached Trenton. Washington retired across the Assumpinck, a creek, as the Americans call it, which runs through that town. The British attempted to follow him; but, finding the fords of the creek guarded by artillery, they desisted, and began to kindle their fires and spread their blankets. The Americans also kindled their fires and spread their blankets; and then a cannonade was begun, and kept up on both sides till it was pitch dark. Cornwallis resolved, with a full confidence of victory, to bring on a general engagement in the morning: Washington, aware of his intention, resolved to fly by night.* He would have recrossed the Delaware if he had been able; but a rapid, temporary

* The movements of the British army were generally betrayed beforehand to the Americans, and occasionally in a way which forces the conviction that there were traitors at our head-quarters. Washington knew the importance of secret-service money, and often employed that means of corruption.

thaw had set in, and the ice was reported rotten and unsafe. In this desperate dilemma he called a council of war, and proposed the only thing that could be done—to leave Philadelphia to itself, and strike across the country by an open and circuitous road, and get into the rear of Princetown, where Cornwallis had not left any considerable force. The plan was, of course, adopted; the baggage was silently packed up and sent off, and, about two o'clock in the morning, after renewing their bivouac-fires and leaving their advanced pickets and several small parties to guard for a time the fords of Assumpinck Creek, the American army, muter than Quakers, stole away by the road called the Quaker Road. As day dawned they discovered the British regiments—the 17th and 55th—in full march from Princetown to join Lord Cornwallis at Trenton. A fierce conflict ensued, and for some time the two British regiments most gallantly resisted the whole of Washington's army. Colonel Mawhood, who commanded, posted them on some rising ground between Princetown and the enemy, sent back his baggage-waggons along the road, and despatched orders for the 40th regiment, that lay at Princetown, to come up instantly to his assistance. When the Americans advanced he opened a heavy discharge of artillery upon them, which did the more execution, as they were huddled together in a most unmilitary fashion. Thus their van was soon thrown into disorder; and then the 17th regiment rushed forward with fixed bayonets and drove them back pell-mell to a ravine which separated them from their rear. The van was, in fact, thoroughly beaten when Washington galloped up to the ravine, got his main body into something like order, and encouraged them by his cheers and his fearless example to cross it and attack the fish—who, after all, were only *two* regiments, and so, numerically, not strong ones. But a terrible fight ensued before he could get across that line: Colonel Haslet and Potter, Captain Neal of the American artillery, Captain Fleming, and five others of

Washington's best officers were killed near the ravine, and he himself had several hair-breadth escapes. It was assumed by British officers—and apparently without much presumption—that if the 40th had come up in time from Princetown, they could have kept the Americans in play, blundering at that ravine, until Cornwallis could have taken them in the rear, when the surrender or annihilation of their whole army must have been all but inevitable. But the 40th were slow in moving, and Washington, after several efforts, succeeded in severing the brave 17th from the 55th; and that success got him out of his predicament. The 17th, nevertheless, cut their way through his main body and rear, and marched on for Trenton. The 55th, less brave or less fortunate, fell back to Princetown, and thence retreated with the 40th to New Brunswick; but these two latter regiments lost a great number in prisoners, not so much on the field as in the slow operations of escorting stores and artillery from Princetown, which place was open and untenable. Washington entered it, but could find no rest there, for Lord Cornwallis had discovered his *ruse* and was now close in his rear. As, however, the great object of the English general's solicitude was New Brunswick and not Princetown, and as our troops diverged by a road to the right, Washington was enabled to clear out and to reach and cross Millstone River, breaking down the bridge behind him to stop pursuit. That night Lord Cornwallis lay at New Brunswick, and there he continued to lie for many days, during which time Washington overran the greater part of East and West Jersey, made himself master of the coast opposite to Staten Island, and fixed his head-quarters at Morris Town, a place naturally strong and difficult of access, situated among hills, with a fine country in the rear, abounding in supplies. We had thus, for the time, lost nearly whole of the Jerseys, and had left the inhabitants had declared for us in a woful condition. Making every possible allowance for the nature and extent of country he had to guard, in order to cover the Jer

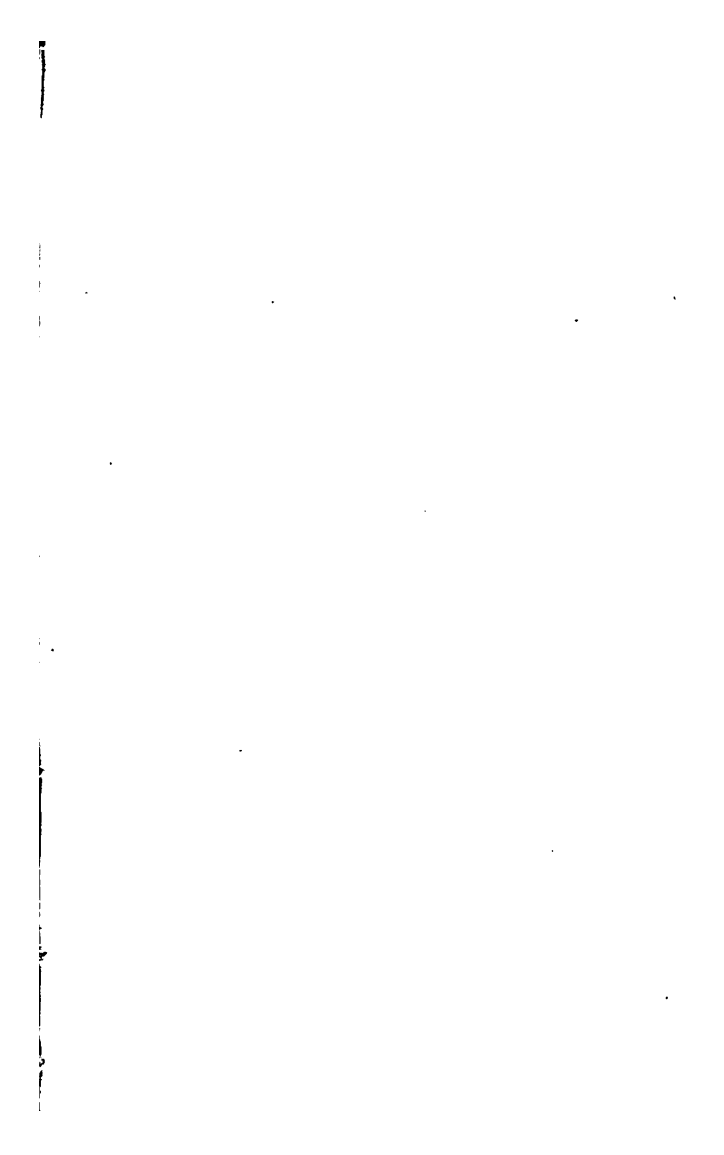
Howe's conduct must still lie open to severe blame. But what was far more extraordinary than all the blunders, was the fact that General Howe, though at only a few miles' distance, with a far superior force, with a good fleet at command, and with all the materials and means of war in abundance, left Washington undisturbed where he was, for several months, to strengthen his positions, to erect forts, mills, and magazines, to receive 20,000 stand of arms and 1000 barrels of gunpowder from France, to reconcile or accustom the people of the country to the dominion of Congress, and to distress and cut off the supplies of the British advanced posts at Brunswick and Amboy. It was true it was winter, and the season from the middle of February to the middle of March excessively severe; but if Americans could keep the field, British and Northern Germans, inured to cold, and far better provided with clothes, tents, and comforts, could have done the same; and as Washington set the example by beginning a winter campaign, Howe ought to have followed it up, without pause or intermission, till his enemy was crushed or again driven in a helpless condition beyond the Delaware. But such campaigns, as yet, were rarities in the eyes of European routine generals, and Howe was never the man to despise the comforts and luxuries of snug winter-quarters. Besides, as we firmly believe, he had no wish to hurry on the war to a conclusion. Something, however, was done on our side during this long season of repose. Several thousand provincial troops, native Americans still ardent in the royal cause, the triumph of which would restore to them their property, their consideration, and all that they had lost, were enrolled and trained, and placed under the command of Governor Tryon. An intercourse

kept up with the Royalists in other parts of the continent, and Washington was repeatedly alarmed by ours of movements and insurrections in the two cities of Somerset and Worcester. In the province Maryland the Royalists threatened to rise in great numbers, in which case they would have been joined by a

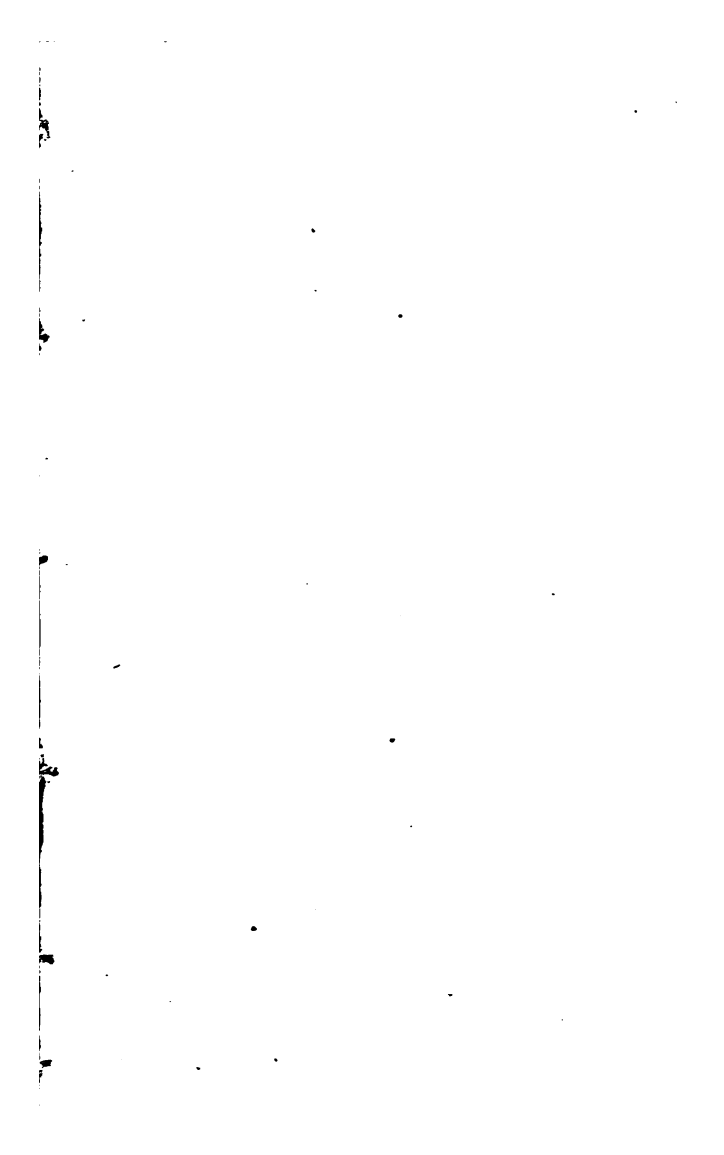
great number of persons in the county of Sussex and in the Delaware state.* But Congress put the committees of safety into operation, and recommended the apprehension and instant removal "*of all persons of influence or of desperate character.*"

* Gordon.—Marshall.

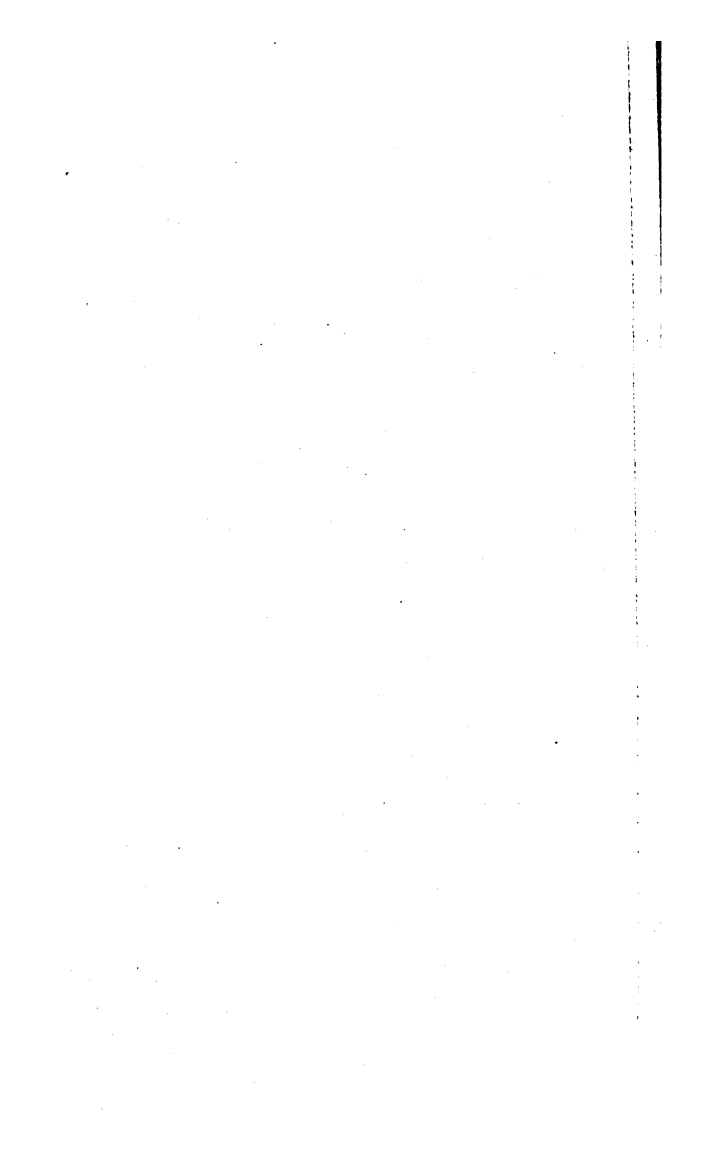
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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".



The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) as $t \rightarrow \infty$. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) are bounded and tend to zero as $t \rightarrow \infty$. The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) as $t \rightarrow 0$. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) are bounded and tend to zero as $t \rightarrow 0$.

